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CREATION AND THE PEOPLE OF GOD

Creation Tradition and the Boundaries of the Covenant in Second Temple Jewish Writings and in Paul's Letter to the Galatians

David T. Goh

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Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham
Department of Theology

1994



12 SEP 1995

ABSTRACT

CREATION AND THE PEOPLE OF GOD **Creation Tradition and the Boundaries of the Covenant** **in Second Temple Jewish Writings** **and in Paul's Letter to the Galatians**

David T. Goh

This dissertation is an examination of a two-part question. In writings from the Wisdom literature and the Apocalyptic literature, was creation tradition and theology utilized to support Israel's national identity and the ethnic and cultural boundaries which distinguished her from the Gentiles? In contrast to its application in coterminous Jewish literature, did Paul (in Galatians) draw upon the same creation tradition to redefine the covenantal boundary of Israel to include a people of God made up of both Jew and Gentile?

Both nationalistic and universalistic aspects are found in the creation traditions of the Hebrew Bible. Jewish writers in the pre-Pauline period utilized this creation tradition frequently, and in a variety of ways, to emphasize the election of Israel and underscore the division between Jew and Gentile.

Paul's response to the Galatian crisis utilized theological arguments frequently underpinned by creation theology and imagery. Through reference to a realized apocalyptic eschatology, Paul disassociates the new creation from the eschatological vindication of Israel and from the observance of "works of the Law." The presence of the Spirit is full proof of the incorporation of the Galatians into the new creation. Adam Christology becomes the means of uniting Jew and Gentile both in the fallen condition of Adam and in the single solution of faith in Christ. The world ordered by physical descent ("Jew and Gentile") has passed away, there is no "male and female." Paul used creation imagery and creation theology to prove that the boundary which divided Jew from Gentile as the people of God was no longer valid, the very boundary which Jewish writers, through their use of creation tradition, had attempted to reinforce.

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

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PREFACE

One of the great rewards in bringing to completion this course of study is to recall the loving efforts of the many who assisted me on the way.

First mention in my appreciation must be given to Janelle, my wife. Although this dissertation has been a constant companion during the first decade of our marriage, she has given encouragement throughout the lengthy process, and patiently endured without complaint the many hours which I have devoted to this task. I also thank my son Jordan, whose love for me continually provided the needed perspective on my academic efforts. My parents, Harry and Kathleen Goh, have also given constant support and exemplified for me the commitment to understand and obey the truth of scripture.

I am indebted to Professor J.D.G. Dunn, for his role as supervisor of this project, and for his warm and genuine friendship through these years. Special thanks in particular for all the extra effort on my behalf during the pressures of the final months of work on the thesis. Dr. Walter Moberly provided valuable comments on some of the sections of the thesis which concerned the Hebrew Bible.

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I am grateful to the Parsonage Fellowship, to Tyndale House Council (Cambridge) and to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom for enabling this course of study through generous research grants. For financial assistance while in England, I thank Bakersfield Community Church, Bruce and Donna Bryant, my parents, Harry and Kathleen Goh, and Janelle's parents, Mervin and Mary Jensen. Special thanks to Tom and Judy Eveland for providing the means for the 5 weeks of study-leave this past year which proved to be the turning point in the dissertation process.

Finally, my thanks to all who make up the Bakersfield Community Church, for faithful prayer, ongoing encouragement and love beyond measure. In many ways, the theological skills I hoped to acquire in the process of attaining this degree are intended primarily to be applied towards furthering the understanding of our shared faith and fulfilling our mutual purpose in Christ.

*Finish then Thy new creation, Pure and spotless let us be;
Let us see Thy great salvation Perfectly restored in Thee:
Changed from glory into glory, Till in heav'n we take our place,
Till we cast our crowns before Thee, Lost in wonder, love and praise.*
Charles Wesley

To
HARRY GOH

Father, Pastor, Friend

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Introduction

1. Purpose

The initial purpose and scope of this dissertation was to examine the use of creation imagery in the Pauline letters. This purpose grew out of a realization from reading 2 Corinthians and Romans that Paul used creation theology and creation imagery in a sustained fashion over the course of the arguments in his writings. That is to say, Paul's use of creation tradition was much broader than studies which focused exclusively on a single theme (e.g. Adam-Christ typology or the portrayal of the new creation in Paul's eschatology) would seem to indicate. Diverse references to creation themes or images were frequently integrated by Paul in his responses to the situations facing his churches. For instance, Romans 1-8 shows a series of possible references to creation tradition:

1:18ff	Human sin described against the background of Gen 1-3;
3:23	Sin as the loss of divine glory;
4:17	Justifying faith as faith in the Creator who creates out of nothing;
5:1	The hope of the glory of God;
5:12-21	Adam/Christ;
6:1-11	The co-crucifixion of the old anthropos with Christ leading to resurrection in newness of life;
7:7ff	The sin of Adam in breaking God's Law as the archetypal failure of those who have the Law;
8:2-4, 29	Interchange - Christ in the likeness of sinful flesh; those in Christ conformed to the image of the Son;
8:18-25	The hope of the new creation;
8:30	Glory restored.

Thus, a study which investigated Paul's use of creation tradition in the course of the arguments that provided their larger context, instead of pursuing a single Pauline theme by isolating sections from the various letters, had the potential to uncover some broader implications that the entire package of creation imagery held for understanding Paul's theology.

In New Testament studies, particularly those from English speaking countries, E. P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* forced scholars to rethink previous approaches to



Pauline interpretation.¹ For those who were convinced by Sanders' portrayal of Judaism, Paul's interaction with Judaism could no longer be seen as a reaction to a "meritorious, works achieved self-righteousness," no matter how fitting Luther's interpretation might have been for the needs of his day. J. D. G. Dunn, building on Sanders' results, began to focus the issue of the "partings of the ways" between Paul and Judaism (expressed primarily in the interaction between Paul and the Jerusalem church) on the ethnic and social boundaries established by the Law around Israel, the people of God.²

Thus, a course of study seemed set: an examination of how Paul utilized creation imagery and creation theology in defining a people of God made up of both Jew and Gentile. However, given that nationalism and ethnocentrism were significant factors in the Judaism from which the Christian Gentile mission emerged, it seemed necessary to ask in preparation for the study on Paul related questions about the Jewish literature of this period: was creation imagery and theology utilized to support Israel's national identity and to reinforce the boundaries and uniqueness of her ethnic, social, religious and cultural traditions?

However, upon beginning this survey of creation themes and imagery in Second Temple Jewish literature in preparation for a study of the Pauline material, it became apparent that the same atomistic approach to the study of creation themes in Paul was even more evident in surveys of the Jewish material by NT scholars attempting to establish the "Jewish background" for a Pauline theme. Earlier studies, as valuable as they were, seemed at times to be overly reliant upon proof-texts brought together to support a particular point without much acknowledgment of great variations in genre, date (particularly the use of

¹E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977), henceforth, *PPJ*. Among innumerable summaries and responses, see B. W. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1-11* (JSNTSup 57; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 14-33.

²See the initial response to Sanders, and the series of articles on Galatians, now collected in J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: WJKP, 1990).

Rabbinic material),³ the historical situation of the authors, and the literary context in which these references occurred.⁴ Because John R. Levison has recently reviewed the central NT studies on Adam with basically the same criticism in mind, that process will not needlessly be repeated here. Levison summarizes the methodological problem as follows:

This approach squeezed the early Jewish data into the mold of Pauline concepts and motifs - the *Tendenz* of Paul and not of individual early Jewish authors became the interpretative key for organizing the ideas of these various texts..."⁵

Thus, instead of using the Jewish background to continually refine and redefine our understanding of Paul's background, scholars can unintentionally sustain a high degree of circularity in their arguments: bringing their own predetermined categories to interpreting

³See particularly the warning by P. S. Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament," *ZNW* 74 (1983) 235-46.

⁴Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism," 245 summarizes S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13. "Initially the New Testament is studied in isolation, and an agenda of questions requiring an answer drawn up; then, and only then, do scholars make raids into the surrounding first century culture searching for parallels which will answer their questions."

⁵J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 14-23 reviews W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last* (London: A & C Black, 1962), E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm 5,12-21 (1 Kor 15)* (WMAT 7; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Adam and Christ: An Investigation into the Background of 1 Corinthians xv and Romans v 12-21* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1970), R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1980), N. T. Wright, "Adam in Pauline Christology," in *SBL 1983 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars, 1983).

Levison criticizes Wright over "selectivity" in choosing passages to support his point, and for overlooking the different nuances in the writings of Jewish authors (22-23) in his article "Adam in Paul's Theology," and similar criticisms can be applied to his Oxford dissertation *Messiah and the People of God: A Study in Pauline Theology with Particular Reference to the Argument of the Epistle to the Romans* (D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1980) and his re-expression of his findings in *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) and *The New Testament and the People of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992) 18-40, 262-267. Furthermore, Wright's starting point for the analogy between Adam and Israel is based on the premise that "God's purposes for Adam devolved on to Israel, with the additional task being imposed of undoing the plight of Adam..." See *Messiah*, 41. One must question how strongly the universal implications of the Fall tradition were widely held in pre-70 Judaism. Much of Israel's creation imagery was focused on the Fall of the Watchers, and some of her creation imagery was focused on Zion - where there is no fall story attached. It seems that the "undoing of sin" in the OT and in the Intertestamental Literature is primarily Israel's own sin, not Adam's sin. Furthermore, the line Wright draws from Adam to Israel to Messiah ("Corporate Messiah") is a Christological emphasis that for the most part would be foreign to pre-Christian Jewish writers. Because Israel believed herself to fulfil the ultimate purpose of God in creation and because the Messiah is in some fashion considered a representative of Israel, does not mean that Israel conceived of the Messiah in terms of Adam (with the possible exception of the Animal Apocalypse of 1En).

At the same time, I find myself at times in agreement with Wright, particularly on the issue of national righteousness (see *Messiah*, 89-92) and evidence for this in the use of creation imagery. See the footnotes to Galatians for further interaction with Wright's work.

Paul, then searching for proof-texts from Jewish materials to in turn support their Pauline interpretations.

The same "holistic" reading through of the text with which we hoped to approach the Pauline letters was needed to an equal if not greater measure in the reading of the documents which informed Paul's Jewish background, *an approach based on context, not proof-texts*. Occurrences of creation tradition in the Jewish literature needed to be examined within both the immediate and the overall context of the work in which they occurred. Only this way could we hope to more accurately pose the question of whether these references to creation were used to support Jewish national and ethnic identity as the people of God. Furthermore, it became evident that to establish the degree of ethnic or nationalistic emphasis in the use of creation tradition found in the writings of Second Temple Judaism, one needed first to determine to what degree such an emphasis was part and parcel of the creation theology of the Hebrew Bible. Of course, the Hebrew Bible was the most certain literary common ground between Paul and his Jewish contemporaries.

The need to restudy the Jewish texts with a more sensitive eye toward their contexts resulted in devoting greater attention to the Jewish documents than originally planned. Because of the resulting loss of space which could be allocated to the investigation of the Pauline material, it was decided to attempt a more thorough investigation of Galatians instead of trying to overview the relevant portions of the entire Pauline corpus.

Galatians was chosen for two reasons: the "crisis in Galatia" was a turning point in the debate on how Gentile believers in Christ were to be incorporated into the people of God (did Gentile-Christians need to become Jewish-Christians to enjoy equal standing in the covenant?) and because the creation tradition in Galatians had been relatively unexplored in previous studies. It is hoped that further research might be devoted to continuing the study of creation imagery through the rest of the Pauline corpus. For now, we are content to pose the following two part question. In writings from the Wisdom literature and the Apocalyptic literature, was creation tradition and theology utilized to support Israel's national identity and

the ethnic and cultural boundaries which distinguished her from the Gentiles? In contrast to its application in coterminous Jewish literature, did Paul (in Galatians) draw upon the same creation tradition to redefine the covenantal boundary of Israel to include a people of God made up of both Jew and Gentile?

2. Methodology:

The approach adopted in studying the Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature was to read through the texts of each document with the help of introductory studies until an overview of the structure and central themes of the book was gained, in this process to begin to highlight the creation traditions found in the document, begin further research into the overall context where these creation themes or references were found, and from this vantage point attempt to determine whether the writer had utilized creation imagery or references to the creation narratives to support Jewish national and ethnic prerogatives as God's elect people. Attempts were made to heed the maxim: "*The elements must be considered within the systems to which they belong and in which they function.*"⁶

In selecting which Jewish documents to survey in this manner, two criteria were used:

1. The document had to be conclusively pre-Pauline in composition.⁷
2. The document had to reflect a sustained interest in creation imagery and references to the creation stories.

Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon were selected to be representative of the Wisdom literature and 1 Enoch (apart from the Similitudes), Jubilees, Daniel and writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls were selected to be representative of Apocalyptic literature. References to other Jewish writings are made, and some developed discussion on the most relevant passages from these writings is presented in the introduction to the chapter on Galatians. Space would not permit a complete study on *all* the relevant documents, and it is hoped that

⁶Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism," 246

⁷Too many of the investigations into the "Jewish background" of Paul's use of creation references are overly coloured by post-70 C.E. apocalyptic writings, and Rabbinic and Gnostic texts.

a strong enough case is made through the review of the documents selected. A notable exclusion in the dissertation is any developed discussion of the writings of Philo, whose creation theology (not just references to Adam) throughout his vast output deserves a complete study unto itself.⁸

Given the breadth of documents included in the dissertation (the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Literature, Galatians) and the demands of this methodological approach, no claim is made to having "read and footnoted" everything in the secondary literature. The bibliography at the end of the dissertation reflects only a portion of the material read, but even the material read was selective in terms of the numerous contributions to the study of each document, genre, or theme by other scholars. Furthermore, apart from the documents available in biblical languages, we have relied to a great extent upon the work of linguistic specialists and their translations of the Jewish documents reviewed.

As space allowed, we have tried to present the research along the lines stated above. The notable exception is the material from the Dead Sea Scrolls, where due to the range of the material we were forced to take a more topical approach.

3. Jewish Nationalism

As Sheriffs writes: "'Nationalism' is an ideology, that is a set of ideas used to express a nation's aspirations by an influential group within it. It may draw on feelings of ancestry, kinship, shared history, language, homeland, and sense of identity."⁹ To a significant degree, this shared identity is achieved not only through common heritage and world-view among a group but through differentiation from other groups.¹⁰ As Mendels concludes, in the era under consideration, the term "nationalism" can be considered to be basically interchangeable with "ethnicity."¹¹

⁸Furthermore, the lack of consensus for the relevance of Philo's writings as a background to Paul's theology helped decide the issue on whether or not to include a survey of Philonic writings.

⁹D. C. T. Sheriffs, "'A Tale of Two Cities' - Nationalism in Zion and Babylon," *TynB* 39 (1988) 19.

¹⁰D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 14, writes "Perhaps the most important factor is that the various peoples of the ancient world were aware of how they differed in terms of language, territory, history, culture and religion..."

¹¹Mendels, 13.

Many scholars have attempted directly or indirectly to define the most significant components of self-identity in Second Temple Judaism.¹² Although completely inter-related in practice, for the sake of discussion we could divide Jewish nationalism into three main expressions:

1. Theological Nationalism: an identity rooted in the belief that the one God had elected Israel from among the nations into a unique and exclusive covenantal relationship with himself.
2. Political Nationalism: A belief in the divinely ordained sovereignty of Israel, an aspect of national identity grounded in the remembering of the liberation from slavery in the Exodus and the promises of Davidic kingship. An accompanying assumption was that Israel should be preeminent among the nations, either in the present, or, once her enemies were subdued, in the eschatological future.
3. Cultural nationalism: the impact of ethnocentricity on the practice of daily religion and social life. This "practical nationalism" would include those aspects of Torah-faithfulness which brought Jews into conflict with the Gentile world: monotheism (and the rejection of idolatry), circumcision, cultic calendar and Sabbath, and dietary laws. For Judaism, "identity badges" (what signifies that I am a Jew) overlaps to a large degree with "boundary markers" (this is what separates Jews from Gentiles).¹³

The central ideas which formed Jewish identity (the belief in the one God who was at the same time Israel's God, exodus and election, Sinai and the Law of the covenant, Land, Zion, Temple (including priesthood and cult), Kingship, atonement, the hope for deliverance and salvation, to give a few of the more obvious examples) all had implications for political outlook, theological conviction and cultural norms. To be a Jew was an identity which was reflected in citizenship, religious faith, and the structure of daily life. Jewish nationalism or ethnocentrism is best defined when allowed to encompass a broad range of ideas which in turn affected the entire breadth of life.

Previous studies of the effects of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Mediterranean world and the Near East have focused on the Hellenistic ideal of "world-citizenship," a universalism where national cultures and ethnic traditions were replaced by a

¹²Mendels organizes his study on Jewish nationalism around 4 fundamental symbols: Temple, Land, Army, King. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (Philadelphia: TPI, 1991) identifies four pillars of Judaism: monotheism, election (including the identity as a covenant people as well as the promise of the Land), covenant (Torah), and "Land focused in Temple."

¹³See the issue of the "social function of the Law" in J. D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: WJKP, 1990) 183-214.

melting pot of shared ideas and syncretistic beliefs. For a part of the population, this description was true. However, closer historical investigation of nationalism in that period reveals that for the majority of the indigenous population in a region, the value placed upon ethnic traditions (language, territorial boundaries, history, religious practice, culture) and nationalistic hopes was not diminished but intensified by the impact of universal thinking and philosophy. Thus, in a given area, the population would be stratified into three groups: (1) foreign rulers/government officials, (2) members of the indigenous population who had Hellenized (usually the upper classes and the wealthy), (3) the majority of the indigenous population who clung to cultural traditions and beliefs, and who separated themselves from foreign rulers and those who associated with them.

This latter group, the most numerous but at the same time least powerful, attempted to maintain their ethnic self-identity and self-definition in spite of the changing political climate. However, as political power was lost, nationalistic hopes continued to be expressed through various means. At times, some chose an active nationalism, which sought to bring about political liberation through force and resistance. In contrast, many, if not most, adopted a passive nationalism. Awaiting the time of political change, but presently powerless to bring such change about, nationalism was de-politicized, focusing more on the maintenance of cultural distinctives and religious practice. "Many peoples could cope with the idea of being a nation through the preservation of their religion and culture without being within the framework of an independent state of their own."¹⁴ Thus, in periods where many Jews felt powerless in regards to national sovereignty (foreign rulers, or Jewish "impostors" such as Herod), ethnic self-identity could become even more focused on circumcision, food laws and Sabbath/calendar, those particular aspects of self-definition which *could be expressed* in the given political situation.¹⁵ As Tomson comments:

¹⁴Mendels, 15.

¹⁵Sectarianism, the intra-group conflicts which marked the Judaism of this time, can be interpreted as reflecting this type of nationalism. Sectarianism and nationalism will be discussed further in the chapter on apocalyptic literature.

In times of political and religious crisis, Judaism, both in antiquity and later, shows a tendency to emphasize elements symbolizing identity and nationality and to develop a measure of seclusion otherwise dormant.¹⁶

Thus, in the period preceding the Maccabean revolt, and the period between the end of the Maccabean era (63 BCE) and the Great Revolt (67 CE), the presence of Jewish nationalism needs to be recognized, although in a more politically passive form. Yet, as particularly the history of the Jewish people reveals, passive nationalism could easily be converted into active nationalism given the correct circumstances and leadership. We will discuss Jewish nationalism in the First Century in greater detail in the introduction to the chapter on Galatians.

Within the context of nationalism in the Hellenistic period, the intensity of Jewish nationalism stands out. From the theological aspect, monotheism made Jews particularly resistant towards Hellenistic influences. Furthermore, the Maccabean revolt was a unique political occurrence in the Greek period, a successful political revolt for religious reasons. The initial aim was to free the Temple mount and restore the temple to a state of purity. Alongside this concern were the issues of circumcision and food purity. Political nationalism and religious freedom were inseparably mingled in Judaism. This brief taste of freedom stamped a nationalistic awareness deeply into the consciousness of the Jews of this period.

Thus, the identity of Israel as the people of God was deeply rooted in theological, political and cultural nationalism. We will investigate how creation imagery and theology might have been used in Jewish writings to reinforce the boundaries of ethnicity, and how Paul might have utilized the same package of imagery to redefine the limits of these very boundaries.

¹⁶P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (CRINT III.1; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 51.

4. Creation Tradition, Theology and Imagery

The implications of Israel's creation faith upon Israel's national identity is only realized when the entire scope of creation theology and imagery is observed:

The Creator of the World as the God of Israel's covenant;
 The Creator of the World as Sustainer of the Land;
 The continuity between cosmic order (creative word) and Torah;
 The analogy between creation as separation and the election of Israel;
 The creation of Israel as the culmination of the creation of the cosmos;
 (arguments from the universal to the particular);
 Adam and kingship;
 Adam as priest;
 Adam and Wisdom;
 Eden and Land;
 The dominion of humanity over creation and the dominion of Israel over the nations;

Wisdom in creation and salvation history;
 Wisdom as the creative word and as Torah;
 Primeval glory and the divine presence in Israel's cult;

Cult and Temple as the culmination of creation;
 Cult and Temple as the actualization of Paradise;
 Cosmology and Israel's cultic calendar;
 Cosmology, the Reward of the Righteous and the Punishment of the Wicked;

Genealogies which run from Adam through Abraham to the nation of Israel
 (Adam as Patriarch of Israel);
 Salvation history (Exodus, return from exile) described in terms of creation history;

The Fall of Adam and the Exile;
 The Fall of the Watchers and the boundaries between the sacred (often priestly) and profane (often Gentile influences);
Urzeit/Endzeit typology, particular the concept of glory;
 Restoration from exile as New Creation;

Zion as cosmic centre, as sacred space, and as the meeting place between the human and the divine;
 Zion as the source of life for all creation;
Chaoskampf and the inviolability of Zion against the nations (*Völkerringkampf*);
 The pilgrimage of the nations as an extension of *Chaoskampf* and *Völkerringkampf*;
 New creation as the repetition of cosmogony.

Much more than realized when the focus is kept exclusively upon Adam or new creation, the range of creation themes and references shows that Israel's self-identity as the people of God was deeply influenced by her creation theology. Furthermore, it is when the scope of creation imagery is seen, and the degree of integration of creation references into descriptions of nationalistic symbols and ethnic practice in the Jewish writings of his day,

that the radical nature of Paul's application of this same imagery in his gospel to the Gentiles is more fully appreciated.

5. The Approach

The examination of the utilization of creation tradition in defining the boundaries of the covenant begins first with an overview of the Genesis creation narratives and of Zion theology to explore to what degree they are inherently nationalistic and/or universalistic. To what degree is the overlap between creation tradition and Jewish nationalism rooted in these foundational creation traditions themselves? The research then proceeds to ask a similar question of the immediate heirs of these creation traditions, the Hebrew prophets who wrestled with the exile and its affects on Jewish identity. This necessarily brief overview will cover Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah, the prophetic books which contain the most developed creation theology.

Investigated next will be selected writings from the Wisdom and the Apocalyptic literature. By examining writings from the two major literary streams of Second Temple Judaism, it is hoped to ascertain if their authors emphasized the nationalistic aspects of the creation tradition in the Hebrew Bible, and the ways they might have attempted to bolster Jewish national identity and the ethnic and cultural boundaries around Judaism by reference to the creation narratives or creation tradition. In this period, Jewish writers were engaging the second major threat to Jewish identity: Hellenism.

Finally, attention turns to Paul's letter to the Galatians. Attempts will be made to establish a clearer background to the issues which eventually called forth Paul's response by exploring the possible link to the intensifying of Jewish nationalistic zeal in this period, and by reviewing the manner in which most Jews considered to be the way the Gentiles could be incorporated into the people of God. The examination closes with an investigation of Paul's own use of creation tradition in his response to the "crisis in Galatia." In contrast to its application in coterminous Jewish literature, did Paul draw upon creation tradition to

redefine the covenantal boundary of Israel to include a people of God made up of both Jew and Gentile?

Chapter 1. Creation Tradition in the Hebrew Bible

SECTION 1: DOES GENESIS 1-3 HAVE A NATIONAL OR UNIVERSAL ORIENTATION?

1. Genesis 1:26-2:3

1.1 "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness..."

The first creation account reaches its climax with the creation of humanity. God created humanity in His "image," in such a way that this creature specifically and uniquely corresponded to the Creator.¹ Although some scholars have emphasized that "image" indicates a physical or external correspondence,² the interpretation of "image of God" as indicating representative rule over creation and as enabling fellowship and relationship between the human and the divine seems more to be the primary focus of Gen 1-3.

An important parallel to Gen 1:26-27 is found in the royal ideology of Israel's neighbors. Von Rad writes, "Just as powerful earthly kings, to indicate their claim to dominion, erect an image of themselves in the provinces of their empire where they do not personally appear, so man is placed upon earth in God's image as God's sovereign emblem..."³ The concept of representative rule is clearly evident from the text itself ("Let them rule/have dominion,"), and is supported by other biblical texts such as Ps 8.

¹The literature on this subject is enormous. For an overview of OT studies and bibliography on this matter, see J. J. Stamm, "Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," in *Festschr. K Barth* (Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1956) 84-98, W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschaft* (WMANT 17; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964) 127-49, D. J. A. Clines, "The Image of God in Man," *Tyn Bul* 19 (1968) 53-103, C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 36-38, 142-161, P. Bird, "Male and Female He Created Them," *HTR* 74 (1981) 129-59, esp. 129 n. 2, and G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC 1; Waco: Word, 1987) 26-40. See K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1958) III 1.192ff for a review of the interpretation of the doctrine beginning with the Church Fathers.

²This understanding is supported by other uses of *צלם*, particularly Gen 5:3. See P. Humbert, "Études sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse," *Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel* 14 (1940) 153-175, L. Köhler, "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei-Lehre, Genesis 1:26," *TZ* 4 (1948) 16-22. Köhler emphasized the erect stature as that which distinguishes mankind from other creatures. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 198-200, concludes that because P depicted God as possessing human form, this resulted in the emphasis on God "dwelling" in the tabernacle and the need for the cultic service to be done to the resident Deity. This is in contrast to D with its emphasis upon "Name" theology.

³G. Von Rad, *Genesis* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972) 60.

Furthermore, this meaning of "image of God" is strongly attested in Egyptians and Mesopotamian sources.⁴ The function of representative rule must be included in the meaning of "image of God" in Gen 1:26-27.

Alongside the idea of representative rule, creation in the "image of God" seems to indicate the possibility of relationship between God and man. As Westermann writes:

"...it is humanity as a whole that is created as the counterpart of God; the intention is to render possible a happening between creator and creature... God has created all people "to correspond to him," that is so that something can happen between creator and creature... The relationship to God is not something which is added to human existence; humans are created in such a way that their very existence is intended to be their relationship to God."⁵

Thus, the concept of "image of God" can be understood to indicate a *relational correspondence*: God created mankind in a manner which corresponds to Himself so that a relationship might be possible between the Creator and the creature.⁶

Both representative rule and the ability of humanity to have a relationship with God are repeated as important characteristics of humanity in Gen 2-3 and indeed, throughout the Pentateuch. Both the representative and relational interpretations can be defended strongly,

⁴H. Wilderger, "Das Abbild Gottes," *TZ* 21 (1965) 245-59, 481-501 and Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 127-148 cite numerous comparative texts which illustrate that rule delegated by the deity to the king or Pharaoh is his function as "the image" of the deity. I. Engnell, "Knowledge and Life in the Creation Story," *Wisdom in Israel*, *VTSup* 3 (1955) 103-19 argued that throughout Gen 1-3 Adam is described in "royal categories." He interpreted Gen 1:26 as ascribing divinity to Adam (as was done to many rulers in the ANE), and Gen 1:28 as the enthronement of Adam as king of the cosmos. See as well Bird, 138, 140 and Clines, "The Image," 83-85.

⁵Westermann, *Genesis*, 158. See also F. Horst, "Face to Face, The Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God," *Int* 4 (1950) 259-270. He writes on 266-267, "Man is a person, is the image of God, insofar as he can be man who hears the Word of God, who speaks with God in prayer, who obeys him in service." Horst goes on to cite Barth. J. Sawyer, "The Meaning of בְּצִלְמֵ אֱלֹהִים ('In the Image of God') in Genesis I-XI," *JTS* XXV (1974) 425 notes that in the genealogy of Seth two traditions are expressed, the divine image and the beginning of prayer (Gen 4:26b), which raises for him the interpretive possibility that the ability to have a relationship with God is implied in the concept of "image of God."

Compare K. Barth's influential and often discussed interpretation of the image of God as an "I-Thou" relationship with three aspects: God in relationship to the Godhead (interpreting the plural command "Let us"), humans in relationship to each other (enabled by the sexual distinction "male and female"), and God and humans in relationship one to the other (*CD* III 1.181-210). Although this interpretation has fared poorly among some OT scholars, (see W. H. Schmidt's reference to the "scandal" caused by Barth's interpretation, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 134f, as well as Bird, 131-134 and Stamm, 94), the second and third elements fit the context of the Pentateuch very well.

⁶W. Eichrodt, "In the Beginning: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the First Word of the Bible," in *Creation in the Old Testament* (ed. B. W. Anderson; London: SPCK, 1984) 71, writes that the divine grace displayed in creation "proclaims at the very beginning God's desire for fellowship with his creation, and especially with its appointed lord, mankind."

and the combination of kingship with priestly function was a common occurrence in the ANE. Therefore, both of these interpretations contribute to the understanding of what it means for humanity to be created "in the image of God."

Does the declaration of Gen 1:26-27 that mankind was created in the image of God have nationalistic or specifically ethnic overtones? An exploration of the text in its immediate context reveals no such emphasis. Rather it is striking in comparison to the creation stories of Israel's neighbors the degree to which nationalism has been pushed from the foreground in Gen 1:26-27. The aspect of "image of God" that has to do with the function of rulership also legitimizes and often divinizes the royal ruler or dynasty in Mesopotamian and Egyptian literature. In contrast, the function of the image of God as delegated and designated ruler is democratized in Gen 1:26-27 to be God's intention for all mankind in relationship to the rest of living beings.⁷ In the aspect of "image of God" that concerns the potential for the Creator and creature to have a relationship, it is again striking in comparison with other texts how far removed Gen 1:26-27 seems from interests of national identity. In various Sumerian and Babylonian creation myths, human beings were created to serve or attend to the gods. These myths established the strongest possible link between the creation of humanity and the establishing of the national cult. In Gen 1:26-27, although the potential for relationship and intercourse between God and mankind is established, the opportunity to link this potential to a specific cult is bypassed.

Thus, if perspective is limited to Gen 1:26-2:3, the first creation narrative applies universally to all humanity. However, to look ahead in the Pentateuch, the possibility of a divine-human relationship is what is actualized in Yahweh's exclusive covenant with the patriarchs and with the nation Israel.

⁷In the Instructions to Merikare, men, as well as being called "the cattle of the god," are also referred to as being "his images, who have come forth from his body." *NERT* 46. However, the royal function of rulership is not democratized to include all mankind as in Gen 1:26-27.

1.2 The blessing upon the first humans, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth," and its specific fulfillment.

In regards to the themes of the Pentateuch, the command of blessing, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" plays a greater leading role than the concept of image of God. The phrase indicating sexual differentiation in Gen 1:27, "male and female he created them," prepares the way for the blessing of fertility to follow, and probably does not inform the meaning of "image of God."⁸ Walter Brueggemann, in his attempt to establish the kerygmatic core of P, writes "We suggest that the formidable blessing declaration in Gen 1:28 provides a focus *for understanding the kerygma of the entire tradition*."⁹ The formula is echoed in the blessing of Noah (Gen 8:17, 9:1, 7) and aspects of the formula are repeated at key times throughout the patriarchal narratives: 17:2 (to Abraham), 17:20-25a (regarding Ishmael), 28:1-4, 35:11 (to Jacob), 47:27 and 48:3-4 (to Joseph). The repetition of elements of Gen 1:28 link together creation themes and the patriarchal narratives. Ex 1:1-7, the final reference to this formula in the P material is very significant for our study. In these verses, the transition is made from the patriarchal narratives to the story of Israel as a nation.

But the descendants of Israel were fruitful and increased greatly;
they multiplied and grew exceedingly strong
so that the land was filled with them. (Ex 1:7)

Remembering the interchangeable translation of עֶרֶב as earth/land, the fulfillment of the creation command of Gen 1:28, "be fruitful and multiply," is clear. The blessing given to the first humans receives its complete fulfillment in Israel's emergence from clan to nation.¹⁰

If the focus is expanded from P alone to the wider horizon of the entire Pentateuch, the blessing of Gen 1:28 continues to play a dominating role. Clines has determined that the

⁸Like other creatures, humanity is characterized by sexual differentiation, Bird, 138, 155. This distinction is common in legal texts, see Wenham, *Genesis* 33.

⁹W. Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," ZAW 84 (1972) 397-414, emphasis my own.

¹⁰See U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1967) 8-9.

The interplay between the creation account and Israel's national identity would be further grounded if we were able to accept with greater certainty Brueggemann's hypothesis relating Gen 1 to the exilic situation. He has argued that chaos is a symbol of the exile, and the implicit promise of Gen 1 is the restoration of the Land (playing on the double meaning of עֶרֶב) and reversing of Israel's poor fortune during the exile through a new creation. "Creation then is restoration to the land," ("The Kerygma," 410) "The promise of land about to be actualized is ordained in the very fabric of creation," ("The Kerygma," 412). If Brueggeman's hypothesis was not so dependent upon his ability to reconstruct the exact Sitz im Leben of Gen 1, his observation regarding the possibility of rendering עֶרֶב in Gen 1 as 'land' would add considerable strength to our line of questioning. He writes in "The Kerygma," 403 n. 24, "there can be little doubt that this is one way in which Israel politicizes and historicizes mythological motifs."

theme of the Pentateuch is the "partial fulfillment... of the promise to or blessing of the patriarchs," and states that this promise or blessing is "a re-affirmation of the primal divine intentions for man."¹¹ By comparing the 3 elements of the Abrahamic blessing (relationship with God, descendants and land) to the creation blessing of Adam (created in the image of God, "be fruitful and multiply," "fill the earth/land,") Clines points to the overlap between the blessing of the first humans in Gen 1:28 and the blessing of Abraham in Gen 12:1-3. Clines also notes that the blessing issued to humanity at creation (Gen 1:26-30) and after the flood (Gen 8:17, 9:1-17) is then given to Abraham and his seed after the sin of Babel.¹² At this juncture, the universal blessing takes on a particularistic expression. Thus in the final form of the Pentateuch as in the P material, the blessing of mankind in Gen 1:28 ties directly into the patriarchal narratives, and thereby into the history and identity of Israel.

The linking of the blessing of Gen 1:28 into the patriarchal narratives is further accomplished by the genealogies in Genesis. Westermann has given ample evidence that the *תולדות* formula had as its basis the idea of "begetting." God's creative power is witnessed in the continuation from generation to generation of the effectiveness of his blessing upon the first humans. The genealogies deliberately trace the uninterrupted succession of generations from Adam to Abraham. Westermann concludes,

"P relates the genealogies very clearly to the work of God in the blessing and its commission: "Be fruitful and multiply," 1:28. The effect of the blessing is described in the genealogies."¹³

When the blessing formula of Gen 1:28 is examined in its immediate context of the first creation narrative, no hint of national or ethnic election is found to be associated with it: the command of blessing is given to the first *humans*. However, we find that as the Pentateuch unfolds, this blessing forms part of the central theological core of the movement from primeval history through the election and blessing of the patriarchs and finally to the establishing of Israel as a nation.

¹¹D. J. A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch* (JSOTSupp10; Sheffield: JSOT, 1978) 29.

¹²Clines, *Theme*, 78.

¹³Westermann, *Genesis*, 12-18, esp. 17. He goes on to say, "What is valid for P is valid also for J though no express blessing is found in his story." See also Brueggemann, "Kerygma," 398 n. 9.

1.3 The Language of Conquest: "Subdue it, and have dominion..."

The overlap between the command to the first humans to subdue the earth and the language of the conquest of the Land has been addressed with particular detail by Brueggemann. The inclusion of conquest language (compare Num 32:22, 29, Jos 18:1) in the commission to the first humans could further support the close relationship between the blessing of Gen 1:28 and the patriarchal promises, particularly in regards to the land/earth.¹⁴ If one accepts Von Rad's analysis of the Hexateuch and his emphasis upon the conquest of the Land as being the culmination of this epoch of salvation history,¹⁵ the continuum from creation blessing (Gen 1:28) to the settlement of the promised land is striking. However, these verbs of conquest have frequent parallels in the royal ideologies in the ANE.¹⁶ To conclude that the occurrence of these verbs in Gen 1:28 intentionally foreshadow the conquest of the Land cannot be done with complete certainty. Perhaps they represent another manner in which royal concepts are present in the motif of "image of God" in Gen 1:26-28.

1.4 Creation and Tabernacle

The establishing of a divine sanctuary could well be expected to culminate the creation narrative of Gen 1:1-2:3a, for this is a regular occurrence in other creation stories in the ANE.¹⁷ Yet, the narrative ends with the establishing of the Sabbath, not a temple.¹⁸ However, in looking beyond the immediate context of Gen 1:1-2:3, scholars have pointed

¹⁴Brueggemann, "Kerygma," 406-411, *The Land* (London: SPCK, 1978) 144-146.

¹⁵See for example G. Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Row, 1962) 1.135.

¹⁶Bird, 153-155, Westermann, *Genesis*, 158-159.

¹⁷For example, the Egyptian text *The Instruction for Merikare*, "...he repelled the water monster. He made the breath of life (for) their nostrils: He has erected a shrine around about them..." In the *Enuma Elish*, the establishing of a sanctuary for the gods in Babylon follows the creation of human beings.

¹⁸M. Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de H. Cazelles* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981) 501-12, draws a parallel between the Sabbath rest of the seventh day of creation and the idea of Yahweh choosing a resting place at the Temple of Jerusalem (Ps 132:14) and argues that Gen 1:1-2:3 actually is a temple liturgy celebrating the enthronement of Yahweh in the Temple. Although it is possible that Gen 1:1-2:3 played such a liturgical function, and even if the concept of "rest" has to do with "enthronement," the identification of an earthly location of Yahweh's Temple is nowhere mentioned in Gen 1:1-2:3. Perhaps this is the very point intended: the enthronement of Yahweh in a sanctuary awaits His dwelling among His people Israel.

out the clearly intentional parallels between the creation and completion of the cosmos in Gen 1-2:3 and the making and completion of the Tabernacle in Ex 39-40.¹⁹

Gen 1-2

And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good (1:31).

Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them (2:1).

...God finished his work which he had done (2:2).

So God blessed... (1:22, 28, 2:3)

And hallowed/sanctified it... (2:3)

Exodus 39-40

And Moses saw all the work, and behold, they had done it; as Yahweh had commanded, so had they done it (39:43).

Thus all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting was finished (39:32)

So Moses finished the work (40:33)

And Moses blessed them (39:43)

...to sanctify it and all its furniture (40:9).

Another strong link is the mention of the role of the *רוח אלהים* in the creation of the world and of the tabernacle. The only references in P to the "Spirit of God" are in Gen 1:2, "the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters," and in Ex 31:2-3, 35:30-31 in reference to Bezalel, the chief builder of the tabernacle, "And He has filled him with the Spirit of God."²⁰ Creation of the cosmos and the building of the Tabernacle are accomplished by the same creative agent.

Finally, J. Barr has re-emphasized the parallel thought between Gen 1:26, humanity created "in the image of God," and Ex 25:40, the tabernacle to be built "according to the pattern/design of them, which you were shown in the mountain."²¹ U. Cassuto concludes that the Tabernacle is a reflection of Mt. Sinai, the abode of God.²² Both humanity and the tabernacle are earthly representations of the divine realm.

Because of these parallels, the building of the tabernacle could be easily understood to be a new act of creation, or a continuation of God's creative activity. And theologically, (particularly if we isolate the material and editorial structure traditionally associated with P,)

¹⁹See Cassuto, *Exodus*, 476-483, P. J. Kearney, "Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex 25-40," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 375-387, J. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985) 142-143, Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord," 501-12. Kearney's attempt (pp. 375-381) to prove that the speeches in Ex 25-31 directly parallel the creative commands of Gen 1-2 is surely forced at many points.

²⁰Kearney, 378. Of course, this parallel argues strongly against interpreting Gen 1:2 as simply a "strong wind from God."

²¹J. Barr, "The Image of God in the Book of Genesis," *BJRL* 5 (1968-69) 11-26, esp. 16-17.

²²Cassuto, *Exodus*, 476ff.

it is possible to interpret the completion of the tabernacle as the goal of God's creative activity.²³

1.5 Conclusion: Is Gen 1:1-2:3 ethnocentric or nationalistic?

This study of Gen 1:1-2:3 has uncovered a distinction between the immediate context of the creation narrative and its function in the wider context of the Pentateuch. Within the confines of Gen 1:2-2:3, nationalistic or ethnic concerns are notably absent. Both the concept of image of God and the creation command of blessing seem universally applicable in reading the first creation narrative. However, in the wider context of the Pentateuch, the creation themes of Gen 1:1-2:3 point towards the covenant with the patriarchs, the establishment of the tabernacle and the formation of the nation of Israel.²⁴ In this way, creation imagery becomes part of the language of Israel's national and ethnic identity.

2. Gen 2-3

2.1 Adam as King and Priest

Many of the themes regarding the creation of mankind found in Gen 1 are repeated in the creation narratives of Gen 2-3. As in the concept of the "image of God," in Gen 2 the creation of mankind is marked by a close linking together of the divine with the mortal: it is only through the divine "breath of life" that the creature of dust becomes a "living being." Sexual differentiation is accounted for in Gen 2:17-25, as in Gen 1:27. Furthermore, both aspects of "image of God" mentioned in our discussion of Gen 1:26-30, representative rule and the ability for mankind to have a relationship with God, are found in Gen 2-3.

²³Kearney raises an interesting possibility on pp. 383-384 that the P editor has structured the narrative of Ex 25-31 along the sequence of "creation-fall-restoration" in the same way that he structured Gen 1-9:17 to reflect this theme. R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 54 points to the manner in which Aaron's excuse for his sin in Ex 32:21-24 parallels the archetypal human defense for sinful action modeled by Adam in Gen 3. Furthermore, Moberly illustrates the parallel structure of Ex 34:1-9 with the Flood narrative of Gen 6-9 (pp. 91-93, 113-115), itself a story of the undoing and restoring of creation. Thus, the relationship between Ex 25-40 and Gen 1-9 certainly warrants further study, although such study is beyond the scope of our present investigation.

²⁴Eichrodt, "In the Beginning," 71 writes regarding Gen 1, "...on closer scrutiny it becomes clear that even Genesis 1 is not meant to make an independent statement concerning the origin of the world, but that it reflects a comprehensive view of God's action toward Israel. ...The primordial action of God, through which he has determined the basic order of the earthly world, becomes in this way a permanent guarantee for the inevitability and eternal continuance of the salvation granted Israel."

The kingship theme of divinely delegated authority is developed in Gen 2-3 to some degree in Adam's responsibility to cultivate and guard the garden (2:15),²⁵ and specifically in the delegation to Adam by Yahweh Elohim of the naming of the creatures. As Von Rad comments on 2:19, "...name giving in the ancient Orient was primarily an exercise of sovereignty, of command."²⁶ Brueggemann concluded that the kingship theme in Gen 2-3 is one of the main points of the story:

Adam, in Gen 2, is really being crowned king over the garden with all the power and authority which it implies. This is the fundamental statement about man made by J. He is willed by God to occupy a royal office... The creation formula, supported by 1 Sam 2:8b, makes the connection between kingship and creation. *Thus creation of man is in fact enthronement of man.*²⁷

Although Adam's duties of "tilling and guarding" have royal overtones,²⁸ Wenham has pointed out the close association of these terms with cultic functions of priests in the OT. Although עֲבַד is a common reference to tilling the soil, the term is applied specifically to the tabernacle duties of Levites (Num 3:7-8, 4:23-25, 26, etc.). Similarly, although שָׁמַר is commonly used in simple reference to "guarding," its most frequent usage in the OT is in reference to observing religious commands and duties, particularly the Levitical responsibility of maintaining the sacred space against intruders (Num 1:53, 3:7-8). Most significantly, the only other places in the Pentateuch where עֲבַד and שָׁמַר are juxtaposed as in Gen 2:15 is in priestly law in reference to the duties of the Levites in the guarding and service of the sanctuary (Num 3:7-8, 8:26, 18:5-6).²⁹ Thus, Gen 2-3 depicts the first human as one who exists as a priest before the presence of Yahweh Elohim, restating,

²⁵See W. Brueggemann, "From Dust to Kingship," ZAW 84 (1972) 4.

²⁶Von Rad, *Genesis*, 83. He continues his comment, "This passage, therefore, stands close to v 28b in spite of the completely different presentation of the material." Westermann, *Genesis*, 228 also notes the similarity of theme between Gen 1:26-28 and 2:19.

²⁷Brueggemann, "From Dust to Kingship," 12. Brueggemann postulates in this article that an enthronement formula, "from dust" to power, lies behind Gen 2-3. Dust is a symbol of the status of a "nobody" before that person is raised to a position of power, and of the status of a person whose power has been stripped. See also N. Wyatt, "Interpreting the Creation and Fall Story in Genesis 2-3," ZAW 93 (1981) 10-21, esp. 14-15.

²⁸Mainly through the common association of the role of the king with the cult.

²⁹Wenham, *Genesis*, 67. See also his earlier article "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 9 (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986) 21. This is by no means a novel interpretation: *Gen. Rab.* 16:5 comments on the phrase, "to till and guard it": "another interpretation is an allusion to sacrifices," basing this interpretation on Ex 3:12 and Num 28:2.

although in a very different way than in Gen 1:26-28, the capacity and potential for a relationship between divine and human beings.³⁰ Unmediated access to the deity is a striking aspect in the story of Gen 2-3.³¹

2.2 Paradise as the Archetypal Sanctuary

"The general nature of Paradise is that of a sanctuary."³² This observation regarding Gen 2-3 is supported by the description of Paradise itself. Wenham has shown that the description of Eden contains many details that confirm that it is an archetypal sanctuary.³³ In the Garden, God is described as "walking to and fro," (הלך, Gen 3:8), the same term used in Lev 26:12, Deut 23:15, and 2 Sam 7:6-7 to describe Yahweh's presence in those tent sanctuaries. Cherubim, traditional guardians for holy areas in the OT,³⁴ are stationed on the east side of Eden, the common direction for the entrance into sacred sites in the ANE (including both the tabernacle and the temple in Jerusalem). Gen 2:12 mentions "good gold," a key element in tabernacle furniture, as well as bdellium and onyx stone, both associated with the priesthood and the cult.³⁵ The presence of a river whose source provided it with life-sustaining powers is equally at home in the description of temples as in that of Paradise.³⁶ The tree in the middle of the Garden whose fruit imparted eternal life repeats the basic principle of the establishing of sanctuaries and the accompanying cult: life is sustained in the presence of God. Trees were often the focal points of places of worship in the ANE. The tree of life is a common component in descriptions of the abode of the

³⁰The idea that humans were created to serve the gods, their labors being directed towards the upkeep of the gods, cult and temples, is very common in Mesopotamian literature. See for example *Enuma Elish* Tablet VI. 35-37. However, the main emphasis in the description of the Garden in Gen 2 is upon the fruit being good for humans.

³¹H. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative* (HSM 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 79.

³²Barth, *CD* III 1.253-254. Barth continues, "And as the tabernacle and the later temple had their centre - not their geometrical but their virtual and functional centre - in the Holiest of Holies, so Eden had its centre in the two trees specially planted by God alongside all the other trees, namely, the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

³³Wenham, "Sanctuary" and throughout his commentary on Gen 2-3 in *Genesis*.

³⁴See Ex 25:18-22, 26:31, 1 Kgs 6:23-29. That Eden was a dwelling place of divine beings is possibly confirmed by Yahweh's reference in the plural to "one of us." (3:22).

³⁵Wenham, "Sanctuary," 22. Of particular importance are the two onyx stones which were engraved with the names of the twelve tribes and inset into the ephod of the high priest.

³⁶Ps 46:5, Eze 47. See W. H. Propp, *Water in the Wilderness* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 10-13 for the role of water in sustaining the fertility as part of Canaanite and Israelite creation stories.

gods, and is believed by many to have provided the archetype for the menorah found in later sanctuaries.³⁷ Paradise is also a place where divine decrees are issued, another function associated with temples.³⁸ As the concept of "image of God" contains within its sphere of meaning a correspondence which enables relationship between God and mankind, so in Gen 2, Paradise is described as a place of meeting for the divine and human, and Adam's duties in the garden have sacred overtones.

3.3 The Expulsion from the Garden

This emphasis upon Paradise as both sacred space and meeting place between God and Adam gives clarity to the story of temptation and fall as well as to how Gen 2-3 fits into the larger context of primeval history. The movement of Adam in the story of Gen 2-3 is from the dust outside sacred space from which he was created, to the centre of Eden, with all the implications of "absolute reality, sacred power, and immortality" which is contained in the symbolism of the centre,³⁹ and through disobedience, exiled back to the dust from which he was first formed.⁴⁰ The penalty of death for disobedience is expulsion from the presence of God, the sacred space where life is continually imparted.⁴¹ Gen 2-3 therefore is a prime example of what P. D. Miller has shown to be a central theme in Gen 1-11: the tension between the separation and the bridging of the Divine World and Human World.⁴²

Faithfulness and obedience gives one free access to God who sustains life, but breaking faith results in being cast out into the world of dust, hardship, and death. Gen 3

³⁷C. Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah: A Synthetic Study of a Symbol From the Biblical Cult* (ASORDS 2; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 133-181 has provided the fullest account of this. See also M. Barker, *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1987) 221, 226-227, 229-230, 233. She dates Gen 2-3 in its present form as post-exilic, its precursor being Eze 28, the story of which greatly influenced the cult of the First Temple Period. H. Obbink, "The Tree of Life in Eden," in *Old Testament Essays* (SOTS 1927 papers; ed. D. C. Simpson; London: Charles Griffen and Co, 1927) 26-28 has shown that the tree of life indicates the abode of the gods in Babylonian literature.

³⁸Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, 80.

³⁹M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958) 380.

⁴⁰J. Walsh, "Genesis 2:4b-3:24: A Synchronic Approach," (*JBL* 96/2; 1977) 161-77. Walsh contrast the standard myths regarding the centre which contain great obstacles to a heroes quest for immortality with the Eden stories and Adam's quest for godlikeness, which he attempts to accomplish through the sin of disloyalty to God.

⁴¹R. W. L. Moberly, "Did the Serpent Get it Right," *JTS* 39 (1988) 13-18, Wenham, *Genesis*, 24, Westermann, *Genesis*, 195, 256f.

⁴²P. D. Miller, *Genesis 1-11 Studies in Structure and Theme* (JSOTSup8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1978) 9-25.

ties obedience into creation theology. Life is sustained by fidelity to Yahweh's command; Death is chosen through disobedience. Life in Paradise depends on the choice between blessing or curse, between fellowship or judgment. In this way, Gen 2-3 is clearly oriented towards life under Torah, although as a narrative it is universal in perspective. As Moberly has put it:

"Although the shape of the story is moulded by the presuppositions of Hebrew theology, these presuppositions are not allowed to obtrude upon the universality of the story. Thus, for example, although 2:15-17 is shaped by Torah theology, the actual term 'Torah' is not used, for it specifies what is God's special gift to Israel alone."⁴³

The Torah theology of the story of the expulsion from the Garden coupled with its universal applicability has led some scholars to interpret Gen 2-3 as reflecting the experience of the exile. In this line of interpretation, the story of primal sin reflects Israel's covenantal judgment, either for unfaithfulness in worshipping the deities of other cults⁴⁴ or for holding to the assumptions of Zion theology (inviolability, preeminence) to the exclusion of covenantal obligation, or as a critique of the royal pursuit of courtly wisdom to the neglect of an emphasis upon the Torah.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the universal perspective of Gen 2-3 could be understood as preparation for the universalistic aspects of the Abraham story, reminding Israel (like the Servant Songs) that a nationalistic perspective must include a universal horizon.⁴⁶

2.4 Conclusion: Is Gen 2-3 ethnocentric or nationalistic?

Is Genesis 2-3 nationalistic? If the text is approached from the standard documentary analysis, the universality of "J" is a commonly accepted conclusion.⁴⁷ However, the

⁴³Moberly, "Did the Serpent Get it Right," 26.

⁴⁴See P. E. S. Thompson, "The Yahwist Creation Story," *VT* 21 (1971) 197-208, who interprets Gen 2-3 to be a critique of the Baal cult and Wyatt, "Interpreting the Creation and Fall," 10-21, who proposes that the background to Gen 2-3 is a polemic against the royal involvement in the cult of El.

⁴⁵G. E. Mendenhall, "The Shady Side of Wisdom," *A Light Unto my Path* (Myers FS; ed. H. Bream; R. Heim; C. Moore; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974) 319-334. Mendenhall notes that the possession of wisdom was a source of international status and recognition for the royal court of a nation.

⁴⁶See F. V. Winnett, "Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 (1965) 1-19 and Thompson, "The Yahwist Creation Story," 207-8. On the universalistic perspective of Gen 1-3, see also J. Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82," *HUCA* 14 (1939) 29-126, upon whose work Winnett builds.

⁴⁷See Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, 65.

interpretation of the universality of Gen 2-3 could stand because of the self-contained details of the unit. The same must be said of Gen 2-3 as of the first creation narrative: no direct attempt is made in this narrative to specifically identify the characters or location with Israel's kings, cult or temple. The tree of life and the divine commands are not linked to the Law as they are elsewhere in the OT. The mention of the Gihon river in Gen 2 presents itself as a possible link to the Jerusalem, for Gihon is the name of the principal spring of Jerusalem and played a particularly important role during the monarchical era (1 Kgs 1:33, 38). Levenson's point that hearers in the monarchical period would have difficulty *not* associating the mention of Gihon with the Jerusalem spring is well taken. At the same time, the description of this river as flowing "around the land of Cush" makes it difficult to prove that the author of Gen 2-3 intended such an association.⁴⁸ Whether or not Gihon is tied to Jerusalem, it must be noted that in Gen 2 Gihon is not the river of Paradise itself but is only *one* of the four branches of the river of Paradise. Therefore it does not identify Paradise with the Temple in Jerusalem any more than the mention of the Tigris and Euphrates could identify the location as being in Mesopotamia.

Paradise is not the sanctuary in Jerusalem, it is the archetypal sanctuary. Therefore, although the temple in Jerusalem is an expression of the archetypal, specific themes associated with Jerusalem/Zion are not found in the Paradise story. Similarly, Gen 2-3 shares the timelessness of other *Urmensch* stories as it deals with the archetypal inner and outer conflicts involved in the lives of those who are given access to the divine realm and delegated divine authority. In this sense, the creation account in Gen 2-3 is not limited to a nationalistic perspective. It does apply to both the blessings experienced by Israel as well as the experience of exile as judgment. Yet the experience of Israel, while a manifestation of the archetypal, is not its sole fulfillment.

Yet, it must be noted that although the details of the story do not point specifically to Israel's kingship, cult or law, the narrative of Gen 2-3 is established clearly on the principles

⁴⁸See Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 130-131, R. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and in the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972) 101 n. 5, Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, 74-75. Certainly the identification of the Paradise river with the stream from the Temple of Yahweh is in no manner as clear as in the prophetic literature: Eze 47:1-12, Zech 14:1-21, Joel 4:16-18.

of Torah while maintaining its universal horizon. We must conclude that Gen 2-3 is not nationalistically or ethnically oriented. While a central concept in covenant theology forms the basis for the story of the fall, the author does not limit this episode to being an experience only within Israel's covenantal boundaries.

3. Conclusion to Gen 1-3

3.1 The immediate context.

Neither Gen 1:1-2a or Gen 2-3 are ethnocentrically or nationalistically orientated in their immediate context. National kingship or cult is not established in these stories. Creation in the image of God, the creation command and blessing issued to the first humans, the depiction of paradise, and the story of prohibition and expulsion reflect Hebrew thinking but remain universally applicable.

3.2 The Forward Horizon of the Creation Narratives:

Particularly from our examination of Gen 1:1-2:3, it is evident that the concern with archetypal truths about the first humans is motivated by the fact that these are to be experienced and fulfilled within the particularistic boundary of Israel. The blessings upon the patriarchs, the promise of the land, the formation of Israel as a nation in Egypt, the establishment of the tabernacle and cult, even the role of obedience in the covenantal "pattern of religion" all are rooted in the creation stories of Gen 1-3. Thus, in the wider context of the Pentateuch, the creation stories are orientated towards Israel, because they represent the first occurrence of key themes specifically connected with her identity as the People of God.

Thus, the texts in their isolated context of primeval history are not defined by a nationalistic or ethnocentric interest. They clearly speak of the creation of the world and the creation of humanity in its widest sense. But as we follow the trajectory of thought which emerges from Gen 1-3, we see that the creation narratives are oriented towards the

emergence of the nation Israel, with the unique cultic theology, history of promises and covenantal practice which identified Israel as the people of God.

SECTION 2: ZION THEOLOGY: CREATION, CULT AND KINGSHIP

1. Zion Theology: Introduction

This overview of the inter-relating of creation faith and Israel's self-identification continues with an examination of the traditions and theology regarding Zion, the capital of Israel and the city where Yahweh dwelt. Theology and tradition concerning Zion brings together creation, cult, monarchy and nationalism in a dynamic and unified way. A number of recent studies have drawn attention to the significance of the mountain of Zion for Israel's faith. Mention should be made of Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and in the Old Testament*, Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, and Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*.⁴⁹ In light of the comprehensive nature of these and other studies, no attempt will be made to break new ground in this area. What follows summarizes the findings by other scholars which have direct significance upon our study.

The motifs that form the pre-exilic Zion tradition were initially clarified by Edzard Rohland. He identified four central motifs drawn from "the Psalms of Zion." They are as follows:

1. Zion is identified with Zaphon, the mountain of the gods, and is the dwelling place of Yahweh;
2. Zion is the place of the source of the river of paradise;
3. Zion is the site of Yahweh's victory over the sea/chaos;
4. At Zion, Yahweh triumphed over the nations.⁵⁰

These categories are still agreed upon by most scholars, although terminology used to describe them varies. They will here be discussed in terms of their significance in bringing together creation and nationalism.

In discussing Zion tradition, the main focus will be upon Zion as the temple mount. However, the theology which emerges regarding Zion applies to Zion as political and religious capital city, to Zion as the entire land of Israel, and to Zion as the people of God.

⁴⁹Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*; Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*; B. C. Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King* (JSOTSup41; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987). For a review of the most influential studies on Zion theology, see H. J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986) 78-84, Ollenburger, 15-19.

⁵⁰E. Rohland, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten* (D. Theol. Dissertation; University of Heidelberg, 1956) 142, cited in Ollenburger, 15.

Creation themes that are used to support the claims regarding Zion therefore have implications upon the entire spectrum of the religious, social, political and ethnic identity of the people of God.

2. Creation, Cosmic Mountain, and Cult in Zion Theology

All the traditions associated with Zion and the resulting theological implications for cult and kingship rest on the claim that "Yahweh dwells in Zion."

The entire ideology of the Jerusalem temple centred in the belief that, as his chosen dwelling-place, Yahweh's presence was to be found in it, and that from there he revealed his will and poured out his blessing upon his people.⁵¹

The most prominent theme associated with Yahweh having made Zion his divine abode is that he is enthroned there as King. This theme is celebrated in Ps 47, 93-99, the so-called enthronement psalms, and in Ps 24 and 68, psalms probably used as 'entrance liturgy.'

Because of the conviction that Yahweh dwelt as King in Zion, the traditional claims associated with the "mountain of God/the gods" in the ANE became associated with Zion. This is shown most clearly in Ps 48:3f, where Zion is associated with Zaphon, the mountain of Baal and the site of his temple in Canaanite mythology:

Great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised in the city of our God!
His holy mountain, beautiful in height,
(Is) Mount Zion at the heights of Zaphon,
The city of the great king.⁵²

The polemic of Ps 48 is clear: if you seek God, do not look to Baal in Zaphon, look to Yahweh, who dwells in Zion. But Zaphon is not simply a rival temple site. Canaanite literature attributes to Zaphon the special characteristics of a "cosmic mountain."⁵³ This identification of Zion with Zaphon makes it clear that Zion theology draws upon the motifs of the "cosmic mountain."

⁵¹R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965) 76. See as well J. J. M. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and other Essays. Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, (Tokyo: 1979)*, (ed. T. Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982) 108 and T. L. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* (JSNTSup8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 36.

⁵²Translation follows Ollenburger, 47.

⁵³There has been extensive research conducted on Zaphon. See Clements, *God and Temple*, 3-9, 46-47, Levenson, *Sinai*, 146, and particularly Clifford, 57-79.

Behind the tradition of "cosmic mountain" is the idea of "the Centre." As Mircea Eliade has demonstrated from a phenomenological perspective, the idea of "the Centre" is a notion common to many ancient systems of belief.⁵⁴ Because geography was understood to be a physical picture of the unseen spiritual realm, that which is of the greatest spiritual significance must occur at the geographic centre.⁵⁵ This place, around which the world is ordered and toward which the world is orientated, can be described as the highest spot in the earth (a cosmic mountain), the "navel"⁵⁶ or centre point of the earth. In the Zion theology found in the OT, Zion/Jerusalem is proclaimed to be "the Centre," the focal point of the world.

Eze 5:5

5 Thus spoke the Lord Yahweh:
 This is Jerusalem.
 In the midst of the nations I have set her,
 And all around her are countries.

Eze 38:12

12 You expect to despoil and plunder, to turn your hand
 against repopulated ruins, against a people gathered
 from among the nations, a people acquiring cattle and
 goods and dwelling at the very navel of the earth.

⁵⁴M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Bollingen Series 46; Princeton: Princeton University, 1971) 12-17. See also R. Cohn, *The Shape of Sacred Space: Four Biblical Studies* (AAR Studies in Religion 23; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 63-65.

⁵⁵Levenson, *Sinai*, 115.

⁵⁶See Levenson, *Sinai*, 115-118 and W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) 2.311 for a survey of the study in this area. S. Talmon, "The 'Navel of the Earth' and the Comparative Method," in *Scripture in History and Tradition: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (ed. A. Merrill and T. Overholt; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1977) 243-268 has argued strongly against specific reference in the OT to Zion as the "navel" of the earth. He proposes this to be a late development, influenced by Hellenism.

Along with Eze 5:5, 38:2, see Judges 9:37, and compare Jubilees 8:19. This concept of the *omphalos* is explicit in the Rabbinical writings. Note the two following passages:

b. Yoma 54b.

The world was created beginning from Zion.

Rabbi Eliezer the Great says [regarding Gen 2:4]: "...The offspring of heaven were created from heaven, and the offspring of the earth were created from earth. But the sages say, 'Both were created from Zion'...as the Bible says, "From Zion, perfect in beauty, God shone forth" (Ps 50:2). That means, from it the beauty of the world was perfected.

Tanhuma: Kedoshim 10

Just as the belly-button is positioned in the centre of a man, thus is the Land of Israel positioned in the centre of the world, as the Bible says, "dwelling at the very navel of the earth" (Ezek 38:12), and from it the foundation of the world proceeds... And Jerusalem is in the centre of the Land of Israel, and the temple is in the centre of Jerusalem, and the Great Hall is in the centre of the the Temple, and the Ark is in the centre of the Great Hall, and the Foundation stone is in front of the Ark; and beginning with it, the world was put on its foundation.

The cosmic mountain is the place where heaven and earth meet. It serves as a point of access for the earthly to the heavenly, and vice versa, and thus is the location for temples and sacred sites, entry points to the abode of the gods.⁵⁷ This access to the divine presence marked off the temple and the temple mount as sacred space. As we have seen above, the claim that Zion was the abode of Yahweh, the place of encounter between Israel and her God, is central to the very understanding of Zion in the Psalms. Israel found no contradiction in declaring:

Yahweh is in his holy Temple
Yahweh's throne is in the heavens. (Ps 11:4)

The temple in Zion was theologically not an earthly site: it was sacred space in which the worshipper could encounter the presence of Yahweh and gain access to the heavenly realm.

Because the sacred space of the cosmic mountain is separated from the chaos and decay of the mundane world, paradisiacal perfection and beauty can be found there undisturbed. Zion is "the perfection of beauty" (Ps 50:2).⁵⁸ Temple and Paradise become nearly synonymous terms, both displaying the unique features which signify them as places where God's presence brings perfect life and order. Ps 36:8-10 describes the experience of the worshipper in the temple in protological terms.

8 How precious is your faithfulness, O God;
 Mankind takes shelter in the shadow of your wings.
9 They are filled with the rich plenty of your Temple,
 And you give them drink from the stream of your delights.
10 For with you is the Fountain of Life;
 By your light do we see light.⁵⁹

⁵⁷E. Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," in *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World* (ed. S.H. Hooke; London: SPCK, 1935) 46, R. Cohn, *The Shape of Sacred Space*, 25-38, Levenson, *Sinai*, 122, 125.

⁵⁸Compare the use of terms of perfection in the *Urmensch* story of Eze 28 which is set on a cosmic mountain/paradise. Later this aspect of Zion theology came under the harsh critique of the prophets. See Eze 16:14-15, and Lam 2:15. Regarding the close relationship of Lamentations to Zion theology, see B. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Studia Theologica Lundensia 21; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963) 219-230.

For Zion as a worship centre, see Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain*, 38.

⁵⁹Translation follows Levenson, *Sinai*, 132-133. Levenson draws a strong connection between "light" mentioned here and "primal light." "The assertion that it is by that light [the light from the menorah] that we see light is a reflection of the primordial or protological dimension of the Temple. The light in the Temple... is pure and unblemished, the light of creation preserved in the paradisaical garden."

This connection between the Temple and creation light is made explicit in rabbinical writings.

Both the source and stream of life-giving waters are available to the worshipper in the Temple. In common with other cosmic mountain traditions, the presence of a sacred stream or river is an important component in Zion theology. Ps 46 and Isa 33:20-22 also speak of such a river flowing from Zion.⁶⁰ The picture of a life-giving stream flowing from Zion reoccurs in an eschatological context in Eze 47:1-12, Zech 14:8, and Joel 4:18. Likewise, the Paradise narrative in Gen 2:10-14 speaks of a river which rises from the ground, waters the garden of Eden, then divides to form the Tigris, Euphrates, Gihon and Pishon. Life-giving waters which sustain creation find their source where God dwells, whether this be Temple or Paradise.⁶¹

It is probable that the stream referred to in Ps 36 and other Zion psalms was associated with the Gihon spring, (the principle water source of Jerusalem), thereby creating an overlap at least in terms of name with the streams issuing out of Paradise. Furthermore, it should be noted in reference to "stream of your delights" that the word translated "delights" (עֲדָתַי) is the plural form of "Eden."⁶² As Clements concludes, "The idea of this river is vitally related to the belief in the presence of God, for just as in paradise a life-giving

Gen. Rab. 3:4. Translation by Neusner.

R. Berekhiah in the name of R. Isaac: "From the place of the holy house [the Temple] light was created. That is in line with the following verse of Scripture: 'And behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and his voice was like the sound of many waters, and the earth shone with his glory' (Ex 43:2).

"The word 'his glory' refers only to the Temple, in line with this verse of Scripture: 'Your throne of glory, on high from the beginning, your place of our sanctuary' (Jer 17:12)."

⁶⁰We cite here Clifford's translation of Isa 33:20-22:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 20 | Look upon Zion, the city of our festivals,
Let your eyes look upon Jerusalem,
A quiet encampment, an immovable tent.
Its stakes will never be plucked up,
And none of its cords will be broken. |
| 21 | But there mighty Yahweh will be for us
A place of broad rivers.
No galley with oars can go there,
Nor stately ship can pass. |
| 22 | For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our ruler,
The Lord is our king, he will save. |

Many have compared these verses with Ugaritic texts which locate the dwelling-place of El at "the sources of the Two Rivers, in the midst of the pools of the Double-Deep." See Clifford, 48, 159.

⁶¹Clifford, 159.

⁶²Levenson, 132.

river was thought to flow, so Jerusalem was looked upon as a paradise on earth, a place where God's presence was to be found."⁶³

Access to sacred space was always guarded by regulations, and in Israel, Torah obedience was the qualification required of each worshipper. Ps 24:3-4 declares that only those who have been faithful to the covenant can ascend the "hill of Yahweh" to "stand in his holy place."⁶⁴ Covenantal fidelity gives the worshipper access to the sacred space of the Temple, but covenant fidelity does not ensure the status of Zion itself. As we shall see, because the election of Zion and particularly her king was grounded in creation, this privileged status is depicted as both unconditional and eternal in Zion theology.

Zion's cult and creation imagery come together in Zion because the "centre" was also the site of primordial creation activity. In a great number of the creation epics of the ANE, the deity was enthroned at the site in which he triumphed over chaos, represented by the sea or the sea-monster.⁶⁵ Similarly, Yahweh's enthronement in Zion was specifically associated to his authority over the forces which represent chaos. *Chaoskampf* motifs are found in Ps 24, 29, 65, 74, 89, 93, 104, and in Job 9:5-14, 26:5-14, 38:8-11.⁶⁶ In particular, Ps 24, 29, and 93 relate Yahweh's kingship in Zion to his actions of subjugating the waters. The progression of thought in Ps 93 is an example of the inter-relationship of all the Zion motifs thus far discussed:

⁶³Clements, *God and Temple*, 72. See as well, Levenson, *Sinai*, 132-133.

Another possible relationship between creation and cult is the "capstone" of the *tehom*. It is possible that the rock on which the altar stood was associated with the "rock" which held in check the primeval waters. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39 A Commentary* (trans. by R. A. Wilson; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974) 308, Ollenburger, 77.

⁶⁴Clements, *God and Temple*, 74.

⁶⁵Refer to the Ugaritic Baal epic of the battle between Baal and Yam, as well as to the Marduk's victory over Tiamat in the *Enuma Elish*. See J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 3-18 and F. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973) 112-120 as representatives of the vast scholarly work done in this area.

⁶⁶The motif occurs with varying emphasis: some stress Yahweh's complete control over the waters, in some the waters are personified, others reveal more of the mythological setting of "conflict." See A. Curtis, "The 'Subjugation of the Waters' Motif in the Psalms; Imagery or Polemic?" *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978) 246-250. Curtis also provides a good comparison of the use of this theme in Canaanite and Israelite settings.

1. Yahweh's kingly reign establishes world order (vv 1-2).
2. Though chaos waters may rage, Yahweh is mightier than the floods (vv 3-4).
3. Yahweh's decrees are sure and his Temple is sacred (v 5).

Zion theology brings together Yahweh's kingship, creation and cult.⁶⁷

Another creation tradition associated with Zion and closely associated with cultic worship was the "establishing of the foundation of the earth." When the Divine Warrior had repelled His enemies:

...He chose the tribe of Judah,
Mount Zion, which He loves.
He built His sanctuary like the high heavens,
Like the earth, which He has founded for ever. (Ps 78:68-69)

Ludwig shows the significance of this continuity between election, creation and the establishing of Zion as a Sanctuary:

In the cult tradition, then, the establishing of the temple at Zion is considered to be the same divine activity as the establishing of the earth; building the temple is a repetition of the cosmogony.⁶⁸

The establishment and practise of cultic life was a central component in establishing the religious and ethnic identity of the nation of Israel.

For the individual Israelite the true expression of his faith, and the badge of his membership of the community of Israel, was to enjoy the privilege of sharing in its corporate worship. His faith was learnt in the temple, and his loyalty to it was shown by his attendance at the festivals. To have neglected his obligations to do this would have been tantamount to a rejection of Yahweh as his God.⁶⁹

⁶⁷This close connection between creative activity and the Zion cult have led many scholars (following the lead of Mowinckel in his research on the Psalms) to postulate that Israel celebrated an annual cultic re-enactment of *Chaoskampf* very similar to New Year celebrations in other Canaanite and Babylonian cults. Many diverse elements have been thought to be included: a procession of the divine throne (in Israel's case, the Ark), the enthronement of the deity in honor of his victory over chaos, honoring of the Divine Warrior, remembrance of the establishing of the temple and cult, the reinstallation of the current monarch who is to various degrees associated with the deity. Strong objections to these theories have also been raised, and the outcome of the dialogue is still inconclusive. For a review of the four basic positions, see Ollenburger, 24-33. M. Eliade, *Myth*, 55-60 argues that the regeneration of time, enacted through the repetition of cosmogony, was widespread throughout the Semitic world. The cosmogonic acts were not only commemorated, they were repeated and actualized through the re-enactment. If such an (Autumnal?) New Year's festival took place in the Zion cult, it would provide a further link between creation, cult and national identity.

⁶⁸T. Ludwig, "The Traditions of Establishing the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 92 (1973) 354.

⁶⁹Clements, *God and Temple*, 76.

When the importance of cult in terms of identity is realized as well as the importance of creation traditions in Zion theology, we then realize to what a significant degree creation and nationalism is rooted in the very core of the foundation of Israel's national identity.

3. Creation and Kingship in Zion Theology

As Ps 78 continues, creation tradition and Israel's national identity are brought together in an even more powerful fashion than the association of cult and creation. The text moves immediately from the establishing of the earth and the temple to the election of David as king.

He chose David his servant
...to be the shepherd of Jacob his people,
of Israel his inheritance. (Ps 78:70-71)

Ps 132 confirms this close connection between the election of Zion as Yahweh's dwelling-place and the election of David as king over Israel.⁷⁰ As we have seen in Ps 78, both aspects of divine election are grounded on Yahweh's claim as Creator and Sustainer of the cosmos. Creation, temple and kingship are indissolubly linked in Zion theology.

Motifs of Yahweh's power as creator are also transferred to the Davidic dynasty. Ps 89 begins by praising Yahweh's greatness, witnessed by his domination of the chaos waters:

Thou dost rule the raging of the sea;
When its waves rise, thou stillest them.
Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass,
Thou didst scatter thy enemies with thy mighty arm.
The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine;
the world and all that is in it,
Thou hast founded them. (Ps 89:9-11)

As the psalm moves on to speak of the election of David, Yahweh's rule over the waters is delegated to His elected king:

⁷⁰"This election of Mount Zion was indissolubly connected with the divine election of David and his dynasty to be rulers of Israel," Clement, *God and Temple*, 49. See also Levenson, *Sinai*, 97. Ollenburger, 59, objects to speaking of dependence of Zion cult tradition upon David, understanding them to be two separate streams. To whatever degree these are independent traditions, certainly from the time following the Davidic-Solomonic era, the two traditions are inseparable in Zion theology.

M. Weinfeld, "Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia," in *The Poet and the Historian. Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism* (ed. R. Friedman; Harvard Semitic Studies 26; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 90-93 shows that while this co-election of dynasty and sanctuary was an innovation in Israelite history, in terms of the culture of her day, it made her *like* all the nations.

I have found David My servant;
 with My holy oil I have anointed him,
 With whom My hand will be established;
 My arm also will strengthen him...
 I shall also set his hand on the sea,
 And his right hand on the rivers. (Ps 89:20-21, 25)

The mythopoetic language of creation is used to describe Yahweh's empowerment of Israel's king. The power to maintain the structure and order of creation through the exercise of authority over the waters of chaos is delegated by the Creator to Israel's king.⁷¹ In the attributing of Yahweh's authority over chaos to an earthly monarch, it is clear that in Zion theology creation is given an ethnocentric focus.

As the psalm continues, it further ties together Israel's political dynasty with creation themes, now by divine oath.

Once for all I have sworn by my holiness;
 I will not lie to David.
 His line shall endure for ever,
 His throne as long as the sun before me.
 Like the moon it shall be established for ever;
 It shall stand firm while the skies endure. (Ps 89:35-37)

Ps 89 provides ample evidence that in the creation tradition of Zion theology creation themes are used to establish the claims of Israel political leadership. Creation is used to establish the claims of David through his association with protological creation motifs as well as to demonstrate the eternal nature of his dynasty through comparison with the endurance of creation. "Kingship in Israel became rooted in creation and fixed in eternity."⁷² Creation imagery thus further supports the sense of eternal election reflected in the unconditional nature of the Davidic covenant.⁷³ This brings into contrast the two creation traditions. Zion creation tradition is oriented towards unconditional, eternal election of king and temple. The tradition of Gen 1-3 is more oriented towards obedience and fidelity, preparing the way for the giving of the Law and establishing of the tabernacle at Sinai. As Cross writes:

⁷¹Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 258 n. 177, Ollenburger, 54. "Sea" and "Rivers" is also possibly a reference to the scope of David's political influence. See M. Weinfeld, "Zion and Jerusalem," 89-90. However, to limit the reference to a geographical one ignores its parallel to the opening verse of the Psalm as is pointed out by Curtis, "Subjugation of the Waters," 247-248.

⁷²Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 261.

⁷³See Levenson, *Sinai*, 98-101.

In its mythic dimension, the Temple of Zion and the kingship of the Davidic house are fixed in the "orders of creation," and thereby given eternal stability. Covenantal forms in their conditionally gave way to eternal forms in the royal cult.⁷⁴

4. Creation and the Security of Zion

The confession, "Our help comes from Yahweh, who made heaven and earth" (Ps 124:8, 121:2, 115:15) reveals that Yahweh's creative power is the foundation of Israel's security.⁷⁵ Ps 136 is a clear example where creation history and the recounting of Yahweh's deliverance of Israel are placed side by side.⁷⁶ Ps 29 brings together three associated motifs in Zion theology: 1)The flood waters are subject to Yahweh, 2)Yahweh is enthroned as King, 3)Yahweh's people enjoy security.

Yahweh sits enthroned over the flood;
Yahweh sits enthroned as king for ever.
May Yahweh give strength to his people!
May Yahweh bless his people with peace! (Ps 29: 9-11)

In conjunction with creation and enthronement motifs, this psalm states one of the dominating themes of Zion theology: Because Yahweh is present as triumphant creator and kingly defender, Zion is marked by security and peace.⁷⁷ Ps 46 reflects also this contrast between the chaos experienced in the mundane realm and the safety in the sacred space of Zion.

...we will not fear though the earth should change,
though the mountains shake in the heart of the sea;
though its waters roar and foam...

There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God,
the holy habitation of the Most High.
God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;
God will help her right early.

The nations rage, the kingdoms totter;
He utters his voice, the earth melts.

⁷⁴Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 239.

⁷⁵Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 61-62.

⁷⁶As Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 65 comments: "Thus we are to assume a reciprocal relationship between the themes 'creation' and 'history,' because one and the same God is the liberator of Israel and the creator of heaven and earth... The Psalms bear unequivocal testimony to this point and show how the themes are interconnected and interwoven in Israel's worship."

⁷⁷This is the central finding of Ollenburger's examination of Zion as cult symbol.

Yahweh of hosts is with us;
the God of Jacob is our refuge.

Because Yahweh dwells in Zion, although the waters of chaos shake the world about Zion, in Zion the waters of the Life-giving stream causes rejoicing. Yahweh's subjection of the chaos waters in the past guarantees the security of Zion against any form of chaos in the present. Zion's inviolability due to the presence of Yahweh as Creator/Defender forms a major theme in Zion theology.⁷⁸

This Psalm also reflects another element in the theology of Zion's security. In many Psalms, *Chaoskampf* is historicized into *Völkerkampf*, so that the waters not only represent primordial chaos, but the nations around Israel as well.

Who by thy strength hast established the mountains,
 being girded with might;
Who dost still the roaring of the seas,
The roaring of their waves,
The tumult of the nations. (Ps 65:6-7)

Ps 2, 18, 46, 76, and 144 each depict the nations of the earth raging like chaos waters against Zion, the symbol of the order and permanence of creation. As Yahweh is depicted as being the King over the flood waters, so too he subdues the nations threatening Zion.⁷⁹ The symbols of chaos, the dragon and the sea, are used also to designate specific enemies in the prophetic writings. Egypt is depicted as Rahab in Isa 30:7, 51:9-11, Eze 29:3-5, 32:2-8, (see also Ps 87:4), Assyria as the sea in Isa 8:5-8 and 17:12-14, and Babylon as the sea in Hab 3:8-15 and as the dragon in Jer 51:34. The relationship between *Chaoskampf* and *Völkerkampf* in Zion theology has great impact on our study of creation and nationalism. As Ollenburger writes:

⁷⁸See Levenson, *Sinai*, 151-154 for a more detailed examination of Ps 46 as Zion theology. It is possible that this concept of the inviolability of Jerusalem was already present during the period in which the city was a Jebusite stronghold (2 Sam 5:6-7). See J. H. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," *JBL* 82 (1963) 419-26, the comments by Clifford, 140, Levenson, *Sinai*, 93-94, and the summary of positions in Ollenburger, 15-19. J. J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," *JBL* 92 (1973) 329-344 has argued strongly against Jebusite origin of Zion tradition. Rather, Zion tradition developed during the Davidic-Solomonic era as a way of theologizing upon the political realities. David's ruling the nations led to the understanding that Yahweh ruled them as well.

⁷⁹See Day, 88-140.

The significance of the integration of the notion of Yahweh as Israel's defender with that of Yahweh as creator and king is that Yahweh's saving activity, or defense, on behalf of Israel *is placed within the comprehensive framework of creation*. The order wrought by Yahweh in vanquishing his cosmic foes is at the same time an order wrought among the earthly forces with which Israel was confronted.⁸⁰

Creation traditions and imagery played a central role in supporting the claim of Zion's inviolability and her security against all cosmological and historical enemies.

5. Zion and the Nations.

Isa 2 and Micah 4 speak of a coming of other nations to enjoy the blessings of Zion.

It shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of Yahweh shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills;
And all the nations shall flow to it, and many peoples shall come, and say: "Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths." For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem. (Isa 2:2-3).

Does this extension of the blessing of Zion to the nations signify a move away from nationalism to universalism? When we compare these verses to other texts from the ANE, a clear answer emerges. The pilgrimage of the nations (*Völkerfahrt*) was a common element in descriptions of other cosmic mountains of the ANE. The specifics of this action varied: nations provide the materials for the temples, assist in constructing the temple, bring tribute to the temple, offer prayers and thanksgiving.⁸¹ These elements appear throughout both the historical and poetic texts regarding Zion and the Davidic-Solomonic era. Yet one thing is clear. Such action is depicted as heightening the significance of the cosmic mountain: the national shrine has universal claims. Thus, the sense of universalism expressed in the traditions behind Isa 2 and Micah 4 is not to be understood as a departure away from nationalism. This type of universalism *is* an expression of nationalism. To whatever degree in the eschatological future the nations enjoy the blessings of Yahweh, Zion still remains the "centre" of creation, the focal point of creation history and of world history.

⁸⁰Ollenburger, 57, emphasis mine.

⁸¹See Weinfeld, "Zion and Jerusalem," 104-111.

6. Summary

In creation traditions which are a part of Zion theology, creation themes and images are used almost exclusively towards an ethnocentric and nationalistic end.

1. Zion is identified as the "cosmic mountain," the site where creation began and is sustained.
2. Israel's Temple and cult is an extension of Yahweh's creative activity. It celebrates Yahweh's authority over chaos. In the Temple is preserved the paradise of primordial times.
3. Kingship and Dynasty are closely linked to creation themes.
4. The inviolability and security of Zion is a "fixed order" of creation.

The fact that Zion theology understood Israel to be the centre of the world and the capital Jerusalem to be the focal point of creation does not make her nationalistic or ethnocentric in a fashion distinct from her neighbors. Rather, in making these claims to unique significance by bringing together creation, kingship and cult, she places herself on ground common to many other cultures in the ANE. What is remarkable is that this claim continues throughout her long history, outlasting empires and world powers. When her Canaanite and Mesopotamian neighbors had long since faded from the world scene, Zion theology, utilizing creation themes, would continue to support the identity of Israel as the people of God.

SECTION 3: CONCLUSIONS

1. Context and Interpretation in Genesis 1-3.

In Genesis 1-3, the consideration of context is all important in regards to determining whether or not these stories are ethnocentric. Taken within the limitations of the primeval history, the creation narratives show a marked difference with other ANE creation stories in their *lack* of national or ethnic orientation. Yet, taken as an introduction to the history of Israel (and there are numerous clues in Gen 1-3 which tell us that this is appropriate), many elements within these narratives have direct links into the patriarchal promises, the election of Israel, the founding of the nation, the conquest of the Land and the establishment of the cult. Thus, as we shall see, later interpreters could highlight either the universal aspect of the immediate context, or the ethnocentric aspect of the forward looking horizon.

2. Creation and Zion Theology.

To the modern reader, the creation narratives of Gen 1-3 may be far more familiar than the creation traditions associated with Zion theology. Yet, in the OT itself, the creation traditions which form Zion theology (*Chaoskampf*, *Völkerringkampf*, Zion as Cosmic Mountain, Zion as the place the Creator is enthroned, the Temple as Paradise, the inviolability of Zion, *Völkerfahrt*) are by far the more common. The creation theology of Zion is clearly nationalistic and ethnocentric: creation is tied to kingship and cult.

3. The Creation Stories and the Identity of the People of God.

From this examination of Israel's creation traditions, it is plain to see why later Jewish interpreters, both within and beyond the OT, would utilize creation tradition to support nationalistic and ethnocentric hopes. From the beginning, these traditions are linked into the identity of Israel and focused on the destiny of the nation. Yet, in speaking of new beginnings in Israel's history as new creation, one can also see how some later interpreters could understand the eschatological time as having a degree of universal orientation. The

immediate context of Gen 1-3 and the *Völkerfahrt* tradition of Zion theology allow these creation traditions to be applied to considerations of the eschatological future of the Gentiles. The creation stories from the beginning clearly are utilized to identify Israel as the People of God. Yet they also provide the imagery to broaden the boundaries of this identification.

SECTION 4. CREATION FAITH AND THE COVENANT PEOPLE IN THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

1. Creation, Covenant and Judgment

Israel affirmed that Yahweh alone was God and, as a corollary, that Yahweh was the Creator of the cosmos, the one who created all things "in the beginning" and who was the Lord of history. It was this Creator who had in turn elected Israel from among the nations. In Jer 10:11-16, Yahweh, who made all things and sustains creation by his power (10:12-13, 16), is also the "Portion of Jacob" (v 16), and Israel is "the tribe of Yahweh's inheritance," or "the tribe which has been allotted to his special care."⁸²

Complementing Israel's covenant faith in her election and the gift of the Land was a creation faith in a present-acting creator who sustained the people of the land. As Israel's neighbors expected the Ba'al of their lands to send rains in their season and to bless the inhabitants, their flocks, and their crops with fertility, so Israel confidently relied upon Yahweh to do the same for his land. Because Yahweh was the giver of the land, his was also the responsibility to sustain the courses of nature, particularly the cycles of rain necessary for the abundant harvest upon which the well-being of the inhabitants depended.⁸³ Jer 14:21-22 shows that this expectation rested on the concept of election and covenant.⁸⁴ The withholding of rain was misunderstood by Israel as Yahweh breaking covenant and not the result of her disobedience, a false assumption addressed in Jer 15.⁸⁵

The association between covenantal standing and the sustaining of creation develops both a local and cosmic horizon. In Jer 5:21-25, the writer contrasts the obedience to Yahweh's decrees by the creation and the disobedience to his commands by Israel. The

⁸²W. McKane, *Jeremiah* (ICC; Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1986) 1.227. He also notes two points of contact between Jer 10:12-16 and Gen 2:7. For "portion of Jacob," compare Deut 32:9, as well as Ps 15:5, 73:26, 119:57, and Lam 3:24.

⁸³H. Weippert, *Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Jeremiabuches* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 102; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholischen Bibelwerk, 1981) 62, 87. See Lev 26:3-13, Deut 11:8-15, Hos 2:9-23.

⁸⁴A number of commentators maintain that a specific situation of drought is the setting of this lament. See J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (AB 21; New York: Doubleday, 1965) 102-103 and McKane, 1.332.

⁸⁵Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 37 and 41 and R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (OTL; London: SCM, 1986) 317. See McKane, 1.333-334 for the elements of Zion theology in this passage.

boundaries he established in the past hold back the forces of chaos (the waters) preserving "the very foundations of the created order,"⁸⁶ and his ongoing creative actions sustain the cycles of creation so that the earth produces what humanity needs to live. Yahweh, who triumphed over chaos when he created the world, channels his power as Creator-God towards fulfilling his covenantal obligations to Israel, sustaining the orders of nature for her benefit.

However, unlike the physical creation, Israel does not obey the decrees of Yahweh.

Jer 5:22-25

- 22 ...I placed the sand as the bound for the sea,
a perpetual barrier which it cannot pass;
though the waves toss, they cannot prevail,
though they roar, they cannot pass over it.
- 23 But this people has a stubborn and rebellious heart;
they have turned aside and gone away.
- 24 They do not say in their hearts,
"Let us fear Yahweh our God,
who gives the rain in its season,
the autumn rain and the spring rain,
and keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest."
- 25 Your iniquities have turned these away,
and your sins have kept good from you.

The judgment for Israel's covenantal unfaithfulness was an interruption of the cycles of the nature, the blessings which God had intended to give through the natural order. This cause and effect relationship between sin and the break-down of the ordering and functioning of creation is also seen in Jer 3:2-3, 12:4, 14:2-7, and 23:10.⁸⁷ In these sections of Jeremiah, Torah keeping and the sustaining of the natural order are understood to be interdependent.

The implications of this relationship between covenantal behavior and the order of creation are expanded in Jer 4, where the total failure of Israel before Yahweh results in a depiction of the wrath of God as the return of the world to a state of chaos.⁸⁸ The desolation left by the invading army reflected divine judgment upon the internal chaos in apostate Israel.⁸⁹ The word which appears in connection with the "enemy from the north"

⁸⁶McKane, 1.130.

⁸⁷See Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 41, 42, 49.

⁸⁸For example, W. Zimmerli, "Visionary Experience in Jeremiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips and M. Knibb; Cambridge: CUP, 1982) 95-118, M. Fishbane, "Jeremiah iv 23-26 and Job iii 3:13: a recovered use of the creation pattern," *VT* 21 (1971) 151-167 (to be discussed below), V. Eppstein, "The Day of Yahweh in Jer 4:23-28," *JBL* 87 (1968) 93-97 who sees the references to Gen 1-2 as later glosses.

⁸⁹R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant* (London: SCM, 1981) 66, also 263.

(רעש, "to shake," Jer. 4:24, also 8:16, and in 10:22 as a noun) had "developed into a technical term for the final shaking of the world at the return of chaos."⁹⁰

The influence of the creation traditions of Gen 1 and Gen 2-3 have been noted in Jer 4:23-28, the series of three vision which depict the return to chaos (חֲהוּ וְכָהוּ, Jer 4:23 echoing Gen 1:2).⁹¹ Fishbane has suggested that Jer 4 is structured as a deliberate counterpart to Gen 1. He has documented an overlap in vocabulary between Jer 4 and Gen 1 and the parallel movement in the texts from the void to the lights of heaven, the mountains, humanity and living creatures.⁹² Jer 4:23-26, in what seems to be a deliberate contrast to the creation tradition of Gen 1 and 2, depicts the return to a state of chaos as the undoing of the primeval creative acts of Yahweh. Chaos was a servant of Yahweh, the agent of his judgment. The reason for universal destruction was the foolish, lawless actions of the people of God (4:18, 22, 5:4-5), their transgression of Torah. The distinctive feature of this text is that Yahweh's anger at the breaking of the covenant is expressed in *cosmic* destruction.⁹³ As Holladay writes, "The covenant has been a failure, and therefore creation itself is dispensable, since creation serves as a first step toward the covenant."⁹⁴ By

⁹⁰B. S. Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies* (ed. by L. Perdue and B Kovacs; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1984) 151-162. Childs draws a distinction between pre-exilic texts which focus on historical enemies, and post-exilic texts which describe the enemy in mythical terms.

⁹¹For the relationship between Gen 1 and Jer 4, see Bright, *Jeremiah*, 33, Carroll, *Chaos*, 65, Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 169 "a meditation on the creation story," McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:107. That חֲהוּ וְכָהוּ in Jer 4:23 recalls Gen 1:2 see, R. Althann, *A Philological Analysis of Jeremiah 4-6 in the Light of Northwest Semitic* (Biblica et Orientalia no. 38; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1983) 99, Bright, *Jeremiah*, 32, Childs, "The Enemy," 153, W. Holladay, "The Recovery of Poetic Passages of Jeremiah," *JBL* 85 (1966) 406, Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 51.

For the relationship between Gen 2 and Jer 4, see W. Holladay, *Jeremiah* (2 vols.; Hermenia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989) 1.164-5. Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 52-54.

⁹²Fishbane, "Jeremiah iv 23-26," 151-153. Reproduced below is Fishbane's analysis of the common material shared by Jer 4 and Gen 1ff.

Jer 4:23-26	Gen 1:1-2:4a	
חֲהוּ וְכָהוּ	חֲהוּ וְכָהוּ	pre-creation
אֹר	אֹר	first day, light
שָׁמַיִם	שָׁמַיִם	second day, heavens
אֶרֶץ: הָרִים גְּבוּעוֹת	אֶרֶץ: יִבְשָׁה	third day, earth
	מְאֲרוֹת	fourth day, lights
עוֹף	עוֹף	fifth day, birds
אָדָם	אָדָם	sixth day, mankind

⁹³See Zimmerli, "Visionary," 103.

⁹⁴Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1.164.

describing covenantal judgment through deliberate reference to the creation narratives, Jer 4 brings together in an inseparable fashion creation theology and covenantal faith. Without the covenant, Israel has no identity. Without this identity, Israel's world is in a state of chaos.

2. The Restoration of Israel as Creation Anew

In the hopes of Israel for the future, the creator who returned his creation to chaos will once again create the world of Israel out of desolation. The Book of Consolation (Jer 30-33) depicts the hope of Israel's redemption as salvific acts rooted in Yahweh's authority as Creator.⁹⁵ Release, return, the restoration of the land, the rebuilding of city and society, the re-establishment of Davidic kingship and the cult are all promised in these chapters. The foundation of these hopes is the promise of covenant renewal (30:18-22, 31:1-6, 9b, 32:38). The message of salvation is founded upon Yahweh's authority and power as the Creator. In Jer 31:35, 32:17, and 33:2, the vocabulary of the creation narratives is recalled: Yahweh is the one who *made* the earth (עָשָׂה compare Gen 1:7, 16, 25, 31, 2:2, 3, 4) and *formed* it (צָרָה compare Gen 2:7, 8, 19).⁹⁶

The promise of restoration is described often with reference to creation themes and the idea of "newness."

Jer 31:22⁹⁷

22 כִּי-בָרָא יְהוָה מְדִשָּׁה בְּאֶרֶץ
נִקְבָּה תְּסוּיֵב גִּבּוֹר:

22 For Yahweh has created a new thing in the earth/land
A woman shall compass man.

This is the lone occurrence of the word בָּרָא in Jer, and its significance should not be overlooked. The new things about to be done for Israel are analogous to the activity in Genesis 1. As Holladay writes:

⁹⁵See P. D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSupp*, 32.

⁹⁶See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2.36.

⁹⁷Translation by B. W. Anderson, "The Lord Has Created Something New," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies* (ed. L. Perdue and B. Kovacs; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1984) 367-380.

Jeremiah here indicated two convictions: first, that the situation is far worse than people could imagine, so that Yahweh must move all the way to Genesis 1 to make it right; and second, that Yahweh will make it right even so.⁹⁸

The phrase describing this new creation, "A woman shall compass a man," refers to "the renewal of the creation-blessing of fertility (Gen 1:27-28, cf. Jer 31:27), from which the people will arise anew."⁹⁹ Note the words *בָּרָא* and *נִקְבָּה*, common to Jer 31:22 and Gen 1:27. As Anderson suggests, the enigmatic word in v 22, *הִסְוִיבָהּ*, has a maternal sense: "the Woman (Virgin Israel) will enfold a man (a son) as a sign of Yahweh's gracious gift of new life in the land."¹⁰⁰ The recollection of the blessing of Gen 1:28 to multiply *בְּאֶרֶץ* (in the earth/land) brings the cosmos once again to the starting point of history. The restoration of Israel mirrors the creation of the world.

A second passage that picks up the idea of "newness" is Jer 31:31-34, the promise to Israel of a "new covenant" with Yahweh. The Torah will be "internalized," placed upon the heart/mind of every Israelite.¹⁰¹ The new covenant does not remove the stipulations of the covenant,¹⁰² it ensures Israel's permanence by transforming the heart of Israel to keep the

⁹⁸Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2.195.

⁹⁹A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia, Kapitel 21, 15 - 52, 34* (ATD 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 282. Translation by Anderson, "The Lord Has Created," 372. As we have seen above, the creation blessing becomes tied to the patriarchal blessing of Abraham. The Abrahamic blessing is used in both positive and negative contexts throughout the book of Jeremiah. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2.37.

¹⁰⁰Anderson, "The Lord Has Created," 372-379. This promise of posterity is further enunciated in 31:27. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 604 raises the interesting option of "role reversal" of Gen 2:7. As woman was made from a rib which encircled the man, now a man in encircled in a woman. W. Holladay, "Jer. xxxi 22b Reconsidered: "The Woman Encompasses the Man," VT 16 (1966) 236-239, (also *Jeremiah*, 2:195) suggests that these verses picture the reversal of sexual roles, pointing to Jer 6:24, 30:6 and 31:4.

¹⁰¹D. E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987) 76, "...the fundamental change in the new covenant which he promises is anthropological." J. Swetnam, "Why was Jeremiah's New Covenant New?" in *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers* (Supp VT 26; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 111-15 understands the process of "interiority" to be the manner of presentation. It speaks of the direct contact with the Torah by the individual by means of the synagogue. "The newness of Jeremiah's new covenant consists in the fact that copies of the Mosaic Law are officially to be made available wherever Israelites are to be found, and that these copies are to figure in the liturgy in which knowledge of the Law is directly communicated to all" (115). Swetnam overlooks a decisive distinction of the new covenant: Yahweh himself will "influence" the obedience of the Israelite.

This notion of the Torah upon the heart can be found in Deut 6:6, 30:14, and reflects the frequent command in Deut to love Yahweh "with all the heart and soul" (Deut 4:29, 6:5, 10:12, 11:13, 13:3, 26:16, 30:2,6,10). Compare Josh 22:5 and 1Sam 12:20, 24, which stand in the Deuteronomic tradition. See E. W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970) 82.

¹⁰²Carroll, *Chaos*, 218. Similarly, P. Buis, "La nouvelle alliance," VT 18 (1968) 4-7, Gowan, *Eschatology*, 76, Nicholson, 83.

stipulations. This inner change in the people of Israel would be the only way in which the past would not be repeated and her national and ethnic future secured.¹⁰³

The emphasis on Yahweh as creator is a continual theme throughout the Book of Consolation. Both strands of creation faith, Yahweh as the Creator of the cosmos and Yahweh as the presently-acting Creator who fulfills his covenantal obligations by sustaining the people of the land, can be seen in these prophecies of restoration.

Another element of creation tradition and theology in the Book of Consolation is the use of oaths which argue from the permanent ordering of creation and the immeasurable scale of creation to the permanence of the covenants between Yahweh and Israel.

Jer 31:35-36

- 35 Thus says Yahweh,
 who gives the sun for light by day,
 and the fixed order of the moon and stars for light by night,
 who stirs up the sea so that its waves roar -
 Yahweh of Hosts is his name:
 36 "If this fixed order departs from before me," says Yahweh,
 "then shall the descendants of Israel cease
 from being a nation before me forever."

Having established claim as Creator, Yahweh swears by what he has ordained in creation in promising Israel an eternal standing as a nation before him. A clause of irrational condition and unreal conclusion (אֲשֶׁר...אֲשֶׁר) is used to associate Israel with the permanence of the cosmic order: "*Only if* this fixed order departs from before me...*only then also* shall the descendants of Israel cease to be a nation before me forever" (31:36).¹⁰⁴ Creation is used as a metaphor to establish the permanence of Israel's national/ethnic election.

The cosmic metaphor continues, as the certainty of eschatological forgiveness and acceptance of Israel is guaranteed against the impossibility of measuring the entire cosmos.

¹⁰³R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant* (London: SCM, 1965) 113.

¹⁰⁴Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 40.

Jer 31:37

37 Thus says Yahweh

"If the heavens above can be measured,
and the foundations of the earth below can be explored,
then I will cast off all the descendants of Israel
for all that they have done," declares Yahweh.

With another clause of irrational condition and unreal conclusion, the creator of the cosmos swears upon the immeasurability of his creation that Israel's past was forgiven.

The everlasting covenant extended to the people of Zion is applied in specific fashion to the two key elements of Zion theology: the Davidic kingship, and the Temple cult.

Jer 33:17-26

17 For thus says Yahweh:

"David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne
of the house of Israel,

18 and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence
to offer burnt offerings, to burn cereal offerings,
and to make sacrifices for ever."

20 Thus says Yahweh:

"If you can break my covenant with the day
and my covenant with the night,

21 so that day and night will not come at their appointed time,
then also my covenant with David my servant may be broken,
so that he shall not have a son to reign on his throne,
and my covenant with the Levitical priests my ministers.

22 As the host of heaven cannot be numbered
and the sands of the sea cannot be measured,
so I will multiply the descendants of David my servant,
and the Levitical priests who minister to me."

25 Thus says Yahweh:

"If I have not established my covenant with day and night
and the ordinances of heaven and earth,

26 then I will reject the descendants of Jacob and David my servant
and will not choose one of his descendants to rule...

As in 31:35-37, cosmic metaphors of the eternal order of the heavenly lights and the immeasurability of the cosmos are utilized (in clauses of irrational condition and unreal consequence) In 33:17-26, these metaphors are applied specifically to the royal and priestly houses of Israel. The nation of Israel, her king and her cult become 'fixed orders' like the structure of Yahweh's creation. The significance of the unification of creation faith and covenant theology in Jeremiah reaches its widest implication at this point.

3. Summary and Conclusion

In Jeremiah, the belief in the presently-acting creator who sustains the people of the covenant is brought side-by-side with faith in one who is Maker of the cosmos from the beginning. Yahweh is the all-powerful Creator who specifically acts within the exclusive covenant he made with Israel. Both in judgment and in future restoration, creation faith is depicted as the expression of the power and authority of the Creator of the cosmos within the particularistic boundaries of the covenant nation.

In judgment for Israel's unfaithfulness, Yahweh withholds the cycles of rain which sustain life in the Land. As the laws which govern his people are comparable to the decrees which sustain the structure of creation and hold the chaotic sea in check, so the lack of covenantal obedience by Israel is punished by the disruption in the fertility of the earth. Carrying out the trajectory of the link between covenantal obedience and world order, final judgment upon Israel (the exile) is depicted as a reversal of the process of creation described in Gen 1-2. Creation returns to chaos (תהו ובהו) when the God of the covenant destroys the elect nation.

In the new covenant, Torah obedience, national election, the Land, kingship and cult remain central to restored Israel. Yet in the eschatological future depicted, the observance of Torah is by those who have been re-created within, the land is that which is blessed with the Creator's blessings of fertility, and national election, Davidic kingship, and Levitical cult are permanently established as 'fixed orders of creation' by decrees of the Creator. In this sense, salvation history becomes a part of creation history, because the people of the covenant are given promises of salvation that are actualized by the established authority and present-acting will of the Creator.

SECTION 5: RESTORATION AS NEW CREATION IN EZEKIEL

1. Introduction to Ezekiel

The first half of the book of Ezekiel describes the withdrawal of the glory of Yahweh from the Temple, from Jerusalem, and from Israel and the subsequent exile and loss of the Land. Responsibility for this tragedy is placed upon a "lack of the knowledge of Yahweh" made manifest by the lack of obedience to the statutes and the ordinances decreed by Yahweh.¹⁰⁵ After the announcement of the fall of Jerusalem (Eze 33) the tone of the book changes from judgment to the hope of restoration. God's presence will dwell again in Israel, localized in each Israelite as well as in the Temple.¹⁰⁶

Primeval images and stories are referred to throughout Ezekiel. A detailed *Urmensch* story provides the setting for the lament over the king of Tyre in Eze 28. The story of the fall of the great cosmic tree is retold in reference to Assyria and to Egypt. The location for both these stories is Eden (Eze 28:13, 31:9, 16, 18).¹⁰⁷ *Chaoskampf* between the Divine Warrior and Leviathan is depicted in Eze 32. Ezekiel has two of the most explicit references to Israel as the centre, or navel, of the earth (Eze 5:5, 38:12), another important creation theme. The focus of our study in Ezekiel will be upon the use of creation

¹⁰⁵See K. Koch, *The Prophets* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982) 295-101. As has been often noted, Ezekiel stands at times in continuity with the Mosaic Law while at other times and in varying degrees, his "laws" are very different. See J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (HSMS 10; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 37-53 for overview and discussion. For our study it is important to note the continuing place of commands and stipulations in the eschatological new creation.

¹⁰⁶S. Terrien, *The Elusive Presence* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978) 210-211. The components of return, pardon, cleansing, inner renewal, restoration of the Land and the promise of Yahweh again dwelling in Israel are found throughout Ezekiel. Note for example 36:1-38, 37:15-28, 39:25-29.

¹⁰⁷We cannot pause to take these chapters up in detail. For Eze 28, see particularly Levenson, *Theology*, 25-27 as well as G. A. Cooke, "The Paradise Story of Ezekiel 28," in *Old Testament Essays* (SOTS-1927 Papers; London: Charles Griffin and Company, Ltd, 1927) 37-45, D. Gowan, *When Man Becomes God: Humanism and Hybris in the Old Testament* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975) 69-92, H. G. May, "The King in the Garden of Eden: A Study of Eze 28:12-19," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* (Muilenburg FS; ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; London: SCM, 1962) 166-176, G. Widengren, "Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation," in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) 165-169, and the commentaries.

It is of significance the manner in which creation images are utilized in Ezekiel. Although Ezekiel charges Israel with terrible sins, he never applies to her the imagery of Chaos/Leviathan (as he does to Egypt, Eze 32:2), the downfall of the cosmic tree, or the humiliation of the Primal Man. In spite of her sin, Israel is not pictured in Ezekiel as an anti-God force, an enemy of the Creator. Rather, he applies creation symbols to Israel when he speaks of her restoration, and the victory of Yahweh which brings it about. To the people of the covenant belong Eden and the River of Paradise, and Israel herself is the new humanity that will dwell in the sanctuary of Yahweh. In a sense, Gen 2 speaks of Israel, Gen 3 speaks of the nations.

imagery in describing the restoration of Israel as the people of God, particularly the use of Gen 1-2 as a referential background. Our central concern is to determine to what degree and in what way creation tradition is utilized in a nationalistic or ethnocentric focus.

2. The Restored Israelite as the New Adam: Ezekiel 36-37

The gathering of Israel from among the nations (a new exodus) and her return to the land is the first step in restoration (36:24).¹⁰⁸ Ezekiel's specific emphasis in the new exodus is that its goal is the restoration of the Temple and reinstatement of cultic worship. This is stated in Eze 20:40 and forms the over arching theme of 36-48.¹⁰⁹ Ezekiel 36:25-27 speaks of three elements of Israel's restoration which will secure her future as the people of God.

Eze 36:25-27

- 25 I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleanness, and from all your idols I will cleanse you.
- 26 A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh.
- 27 I will put my Spirit in you and cause you to walk in my statutes and observe and do my ordinances.

Cleansing, depicted as a cultic ritual of purification,¹¹⁰ is the first stage in the recreation of the people of Israel. Israel must be holy so that she can once again stand before the presence of Yahweh.¹¹¹ The second stage of restoration speaks of the recreation of the inner being of the covenant people through the bestowal of a "new heart and a new spirit" (Eze 36:26). Eze 11:19-20 and 18:31 also emphasize that salvation involves the recreation of the "heart and spirit" of the returned exiles. The third stage in the promise of restoration is the infusing of the Israelite with Yahweh's Spirit. The רוח of Yahweh does not only animate the life of mankind in a general manner as in Gen 2. It animates life *within the covenant*, causing Israel to walk in the statutes and the ordinances of Yahweh. Like the Temple, they are to be

¹⁰⁸For a full discussion, see Gowan, *Eschatology*, 21-29, Brueggemann, *Land*, 130-150. Ezekiel mentions the return to the land three times in this chapter: 36:8, 24, 28. See also Eze 11:17, 28:25-26, 34:11-13, 37:14, 38:12.

¹⁰⁹Levenson, *Theology*, 7, 39.

¹¹⁰Ex 24:6 and Lev 1:15, 11 speak of the sprinkling of blood. Num 19:9-22 refers to a sprinkling with water as does Ps 51:9. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.249.

¹¹¹W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970) 498.

the place where Yahweh manifests His presence. The emphasis in Zion theology of Jerusalem as the dwelling of Yahweh is extended from the mountain to the hearts of the people of God.

With specific reference to Gen 2, the vision of the valley of dry bones in Eze 37 illustrates the promises in Eze 36 of a "new heart and a new spirit" (36:26, also 11:19-20, compare 18:31) and the indwelling of Yahweh's Spirit (36:27, also 39:25-39) which will enable Israel to keep covenant with Yahweh.

The two stage process involved in the recreation of life in Eze 37, the reconstruction of the body, and the animation of this body by the $\Pi\aleph$, is based on the depiction in Gen 2:7 of the creation of the first human.¹¹² There, a body is created out of dust and then endowed with the "breath of life." It is only when God breathes into the body the breath of life that it is transformed into a living creature. The Yahwistic account of the creation of humanity is itself shaped by a dichotomistic concept of mankind.¹¹³ As in Gen 2, Eze 37 depicts human bodies as lifeless because they lack breath. "God must, once again, breathe in the breath of life, before they can really be brought back to life on earth."¹¹⁴ As Zimmerli writes, "Yahweh after the manner of Genesis 2:7 turns dead bones once more into bodies and breathes the breath of life into them..."¹¹⁵

The creation language of the first half of Eze 37 is followed by exodus language in the second half of the chapter (see especially 37:12-14). The goal of both new exodus and new creation is the regathering and unification of Israel (37:15-23), the enthronement of a Davidic king (37:24-25), and the re-institution of the Temple as the dwelling place of Yahweh (37:26-28). The end result of new creation is the fulfillment of nationalistic hopes.

¹¹²Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.257-258. He writes on p. 261 that "the compulsion of a specific tradition" (Gen 2) is the impetus behind Ezekiel's two stage model.

¹¹³Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.261.

¹¹⁴Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 508.

¹¹⁵W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978) 211. See also S. Niditch, "Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context," *CBQ* 48 (1986) 223.

Gen 2:7 certainly forms the background to the sequence of events in the vision of the dry bones. However, it is important to note that Ezekiel does vary the tradition he draws upon. In Gen 2:7 the $\Pi\aleph$ ("breath of life") is that which animates life, whereas in Eze 37:9ff it is the \aleph which brings the corpses to life. Thus it is not "animating breath" in a general sense that makes these bones come to life, but specifically, a "life-giving Spirit" (to borrow the phrase of a later Jewish writer) which transforms the slain into a vast army. The allusion to Gen 2:7 in Eze 37:14 was noted in *Gen. Rab.* 14:8.

3. The Restored Land as the Garden of Eden

The restoration of the Land was interpreted to be a promise of new creation, as is demonstrated by the citation of Gen 1:28 (22) in the final phrase of 36:11, "and they will multiply and be fruitful."¹¹⁶ The process of becoming fruitful in 36:29-30 (compare 36:28) again "echoes the imagery of creation" (Gen 1:22, 8:17),¹¹⁷ and the end product of the restoration of the land is compared specifically to the garden of Eden (36:35).

Eze 36:35

35 And they will say, 'This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are now inhabited and fortified.'

As Israel becomes a new humanity, endowed with God's Spirit, so the land they return to will flourish and prosper as a new Eden.

4. The Restoration of Israel as the Repetition of Cosmogony: Ezekiel 38-48

Of equal significance to instances where creation imagery was used in the description of restoration is the overall creation theme of the final chapters of Ezekiel. Susan Niditch has shown that Eze 38-48 is deliberately structured as a cosmogony.¹¹⁸ The sequence of cosmogonic actions found in *Enuma Elish* and in the Canaanite epic of Baal and Anat are repeated in Eze 38-48. Niditch's analysis of Eze 38-48 is as follows:

Cosmogonic Elements	Occurrence in Ezekiel
1. Challenge/hubris	38:10-13
2. Battle and Victory	39:1-10
3. Establishment of Order and Peace	39:11-16 ¹¹⁹
4. Feast	39:17-20
5. Procession (return)	39:25-29
6. Building of Temple	40-48

¹¹⁶וּרְבוּ וּפְרוּ מִן הָאָדָם. See Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 489, and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.230. This verse is not attested in LXX. These words are possibly a secondary interpretation. If this is true, it shows that the preceding statements at the time of the addition were already understood as a new creation hope.

¹¹⁷Brueggemann, *The Land*, 141.

¹¹⁸Niditch, "Ezekiel 40-48," 220-223.

¹¹⁹Eze 39:11-16 reflects a special priestly emphasis upon cleansing and purity.

Thus Eze 37, the re-telling of Gen 2, provides an introduction to the new creation in Eze 38-48.¹²⁰ *Israel, the New Adam, will dwell with the Creator in the paradise of Eden.*

5. The Temple as a Manifestation of Paradise

Like the Land, the restored Temple is described by reference to creation images and Paradise imagery. The return of the glory of Yahweh to the temple in Eze 43:2 seems to recall Gen 1:2-3.

Eze 43:2

2 And behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east;
and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters;
and the earth shone with his glory.

H. G. Mays has shown that the term "many waters" (מַיִם רַבִּים) is an allusion in the OT to the primeval waters.¹²¹ The reference to the glory of God is ambiguous, but the emphasis is clearly upon the illumination it brings to the land.¹²² Thus the sequence of "the waters" and "light" clearly parallels the initiation of creation in Gen 1:2-3.¹²³

One of the central elements in descriptions of paradise is the life-giving river which has its source in the abode of the gods. The river which flows from the Temple described in Eze 47 is reminiscent of the primeval rivers of Gen 2 and the sacred streams described in Zion tradition. This river teems with life and is a source of life to the surrounding countryside. The trees of the river produce fruit every month, and the leaves of the trees are a source of healing. Through the picture of the Paradise stream, Ezekiel closely knits together the Temple with creation life. Thus as Levenson writes, "Zion has become the source of redemption; the Temple is the mechanism for the disbursal of abundant grace for

¹²⁰Also noted by Niditch, "Eze 40-48," 223. Niditch's analysis argues strongly for interpreting 36-48 as a single unit.

¹²¹H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of MAYIM RABBIM, "Many Waters"," *JBL* 74 (1955) 9-21, followed by Terrien, *Elusive Presence*, 211-212.

¹²²Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.414. H. G. May, "The Departure of the Glory of Yahweh," *JBL* 56 (1937) 309-321 has attempted to associate the light/glory reference to "solar symbolism" and the observance of solar rites in the Temple. However, Ezekiel makes no reference to such equinoctial rituals. For the Rabbinic association of the light in the Temple with creation light, see Levenson, *Sinai*, 133.

¹²³Terrien, *Elusive Presence*, 211-212.

the whole population. When the presence of God has returned to the navel of the world, the Land is transfigured through the life-giving stream thus renewed."¹²⁴

6. Creation, Cult and Nationalism in Eze 36-48

This depiction of Israel as Paradise in Eze 36-48 presents a strong contrast to the depiction of Paradise in Gen 2 in terms of ethnocentricity. Prominence is given to the restoration of Israel's future ruler, described as a Davidic king (Eze 34, 37:21-28) or Israel's "prince/chief" (נָשִׂיךְ - 44:3, 44:7-2, 46:2-18, 48:21-22).¹²⁵ Levenson writes: "...Zion is not a-political or a-historical, like Adam, but retains its ancient associations with David and his monarchy. Ezekiel's program of restoration is, in part, an attempt to realize the promise of Eden without canceling the divine singling-out of Zion and David."¹²⁶

As we noted previously, one way in which the creation accounts of Gen 1 and Gen 2 are different from other creation stories in the ANE is that in Gen 1-2 the acts of creation do not culminate in the building of temple or the establishing of a cult, at least in their immediate contexts. However, in Ezekiel, the new exodus and eschatological new creation culminate in restored Temple worship. The paradise of Eze 36-48 contains numerous rules regarding cultic service. In fact, the whole society pictured in 40-48 is demarcated and regulated along the lines of degrees of cultic access.¹²⁷

The eschatological new creation is one in which regulations are of utmost significance.¹²⁸ The new temple is governed by its own Torah (43:11-12), and it is the duty of the restored priesthood to teach recreated Israel "the difference between the holy and the common, and show them how to distinguish between the unclean and the clean" (44:23). Of particular concern in Eze is the proper observance of feasts and cultic meals. The

¹²⁴Levenson, *Theology*, 13. The association of the Temple stream in Eze 47 with the Paradise stream is widely held.

¹²⁵There has been much discussion over whether נָשִׂיךְ is in continuity or contrast to the Davidic king elsewhere in Ezekiel. For a review of the discussion, see Levenson, *Theology*, 57-69. For our purposes, it is enough to note with Levenson that נָשִׂיךְ is certainly not an a-political term. Whatever nuance the use of the term in Ezekiel 40-47 may be aiming to emphasize, the "prince" is certainly the "head of state."

¹²⁶Levenson, *Theology*, 33.

¹²⁷See Niditch, "Eze 40-48," 218-220.

¹²⁸Hanson, *Dawn*, 228-240, argues that Ezekiel represents the interests of the Zadokite led hierographic party. Certainly, the book of Eze represents the priestly background of the prophet.

Paradise depicted even has special kitchens within the temple precincts so that cultic food and worshiper are not defiled. It is the concern for cultic purity which results in the banning of those outside Israel's covenant from partaking in the joys of Paradise.

Eze 44:6-9

6 ...Thus says Adonai Yahweh: O house of Israel,
let there be an end to all your abominations,
7 in admitting foreigners, uncircumcised in heart and flesh,
to be in my sanctuary...
8 And you have not kept charge of my holy things;
but you have set foreigners to keep my charge in my sanctuary.
9 Therefore thus says Adonai Yahweh:
No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, of all the foreigners
who are among the people of Israel, shall enter my sanctuary.

As Niditch writes about these verses: "Thus 44:5-9 draws a clear distinction between Israelites and foreigners: the purified community is safe in its cosmos, the temple being a magic circle around it, with the rest of humanity excluded."¹²⁹

Therefore, Ezekiel represents a major step in utilizing the story and imagery of Gen 2 in a specifically political and cultic fashion. In contrast to Gen 2, the Eden to which Israel will be restored is clearly nationalistic, particularly in the expression of cult and ruler. The eschatological new creation of Eze 36-48, in contrast to the protological story of Gen 2, is ethnocentric, cultic and political. Paradise is not only the picture of abundance, nor only the picture of the sanctuary of Yahweh, it is also the context of obedience to the Torah, the commands and ordinances of Yahweh. Paradise is also the place where access to the deity is available to those who qualify under specific cultic regulation. The structure of society in the new creation depicted by Ezekiel distinctively and decisively declares that Israel alone is the people of God.

7. Summary and Conclusion

In Eze 36-48, creation language is used to describe the future redemption of Israel and her restoration as a nation. The bestowal of a "new heart" and of Yahweh's Spirit in Eze 36 is retold in Eze 37 with specific reference to Gen 2. Furthermore, the depiction of

¹²⁹Niditch, "Eze 40-48," 219.

the new Israelite as the New Adam in Eden provides the introduction to Eze 38-48, a description of the restoration of Israel as a repetition of cosmogony.

The restoration of the Temple as Yahweh's dwelling place crowns the process of eschatological salvation. Paradise imagery is applied to both the restored Land and Temple. Of chief importance to note is that this sacred space is to be regulated by the observance of commands and stipulations. Cultic purity becomes one of the foremost considerations of the new creation, a concern which also leads to the exclusion of foreigners from the Temple mount.

In Eze 36-48, creation themes and language are used in a depiction of eschatological salvation which is strongly nationalistic and ethnocentric.

SECTION 6. CREATION AND REDEMPTION IN ISAIAH

1. Introduction to Isaiah

The book of Isaiah is a crucial point of intersection between creation-faith and the hope of salvation for the people of God. Creation and redemption are clearly and repeatedly brought together throughout the collection of prophecies. A wealth of research already exists on the themes of creation and redemption in the various portions of Isaiah. Given the ultimate focus of this dissertation, we will attempt only to examine the central creation ideas in three major sections of the book (Isa 24-27, 40-55, 56-66) as they bear upon the inter-relationship between creation and the identity of the people of God.¹³⁰

2. Isaiah 24-27: An overview of creation language in the judgment and restoration of the People of God

Isa 24-27, often called the 'Apocalypse of Isaiah,' has been the focus of much scholarly interest, particularly as one of the key sections of the OT to which the "roots" of later apocalyptic writings could be traced.¹³¹ In these chapters, numerous creation motifs are used in the description of Yahweh's judgment (resulting finally in the exile) and restoration of Israel. The composition is in three sections: 1) The Return to Chaos (24:1-

¹³⁰A notable lack of consensus regarding solutions to the difficult critical problems of the authorship, composition, editing and dating of Isaiah has plagued the study of Isaiah for the past century and makes it extremely difficult to speak with a high degree of certainty in regards to these issues, particularly given the scope and aim of our present work. Perhaps due in many ways to the inability to achieve scholarly consensus, there have been strong voices in recent years arguing for a treatment of the book as a literary unity. See B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 325-38, R. E. Clements, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," *Int* 36 (1982) 117-29 and "Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," *JSOT* 31 (1985) 95-113. See as well W. Brueggemann, "Unity and Dynamic in the Isaiah Tradition," *JSOT* 29 (1984) 89-107, B.W. Anderson, "The Apocalyptic Rendering of the Isaiah Tradition," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity* (Kee FS; ed. J. Neusner, et al; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) 17-38 and J. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1985) xli-lvi. As our interest is in the OT as the basis for interpretation in Judaism and Pauline Christianity, we will focus only upon the "final form" of the text.

¹³¹W. R. Millar, *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 1-22 provides an outstanding summary of the vast scholarly discussion of these chapters. See particularly Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 345-346, and O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology* (trans S. Rudman; Richmond: VA: John Knox, 1968, 1962) 313-315 who traces apocalypticism from Isa 24-27 through Zech 12-14, Joel and Daniel.

20), 2) The Victory of Yahweh as *Chaoskampf* (24:21-27:1) and 3) The Reunification of Israel (27:2-13).¹³²

2.1 Judgment upon Israel as Cosmic Chaos: Isa 24:1-20

The chaos prophesied in Isa 24:1-20 centers on two areas, the *אֶרֶץ* and the city. The oracle opens and closes with a description of the complete and total devastation of the *אֶרֶץ* by the word of Yahweh. The ambiguity between "earth" and "Land" is fitting in applying the language of cosmic destruction to Israel. As Johnson concludes, the description of the onslaught of chaos is:

a striking combination of universalistic, cosmic imagery with language that suggests a special focus on a particular geographical location, viz. the center of the earth, Jerusalem.¹³³

The phrase, "the city is reduced to chaos" (24:10) refers to the final overthrow of Jerusalem.¹³⁴ Zion is portrayed as the centre or navel of the earth: "the joy of the earth" (24:11) in "the midst of the earth" (24:13). Because the cosmic mountain was both the source of creation-life and the capstone against the chaotic powers of the *tehom*, if Zion was endangered, so then was all creation.¹³⁵ Thus it is clear why the oracle moves from the

¹³²This is the structure proposed by D. G. Johnson, *From Chaos to Restoration, An Integrative Reading of Isaiah 24-27* (JSOTSup 61; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988). Our indebtedness to his reading is evident from the footnotes which follow.

In their present form, the chapters in question reflect a compositional unity. See Johnson, *From Chaos*, 14-15, and the overview and discussion in Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, 309-311.

This interpretation is based on dating the entire composition from the fall of Jerusalem and the early period of the Babylonian captivity. Johnson, *From Chaos*, 11-17, 100 and Millar, *Isa 24-27*, 115-119 both present strong arguments supporting this dating. In particular, Millar's analysis of the prosody of Isa 24-27 strengthens the case for an early rather than a late date of composition.

The very late dating (2nd Century BCE) of earlier critical scholars no longer is plausible in light of the findings at Qumran. A more recent trend has been to date the composition to the first centuries of the post-exilic period, still making it one of the last elements in the Isaiahic corpus: see Anderson, "Apocalyptic Rendering," 17, Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 345, Hanson, *Dawn*, 313.

¹³³Johnson, *From Chaos*, 42, see also 26, 33, 45.

¹³⁴Johnson, 118 n. 72. The central points of his argument are that 1) the tone of lament characterizes this description, versus the tone of victory which describes the city or cities of 25:2 and 26:5-6 which clearly are enemy cities, 2) the reference "the joy of the earth has gone into exile" is a *double entendre* in regards to Jerusalem - compare Lam 2:15 and Ps 48:3, 3) the similarity between 24:8-9 and 5:11-14, 4) the reference to the middle or centre of the earth in v 13. Millar, *Isa 24-27*, 15-21 gives an overview of the major arguments (identifying the city as one in Moab, as Babylon, or as Jerusalem) and like Johnson supports the identification of the city as Jerusalem. Hanson, *Dawn*, 314, also identifies the city as Jerusalem. His later dating of the composition to an early post-exilic Temple controversy causes him to identify "chaos" with the ruling hierocratic Zadokite party.

¹³⁵The author of 24-27 would certainly have been aware of the description of the Mountain of Yahweh in Isa 2 as a "cosmic mountain."

earth to a focus on the city, and then in vv 17-20 returns to a focus upon the earth. As

Johnson writes:

"If Israel's heart and centre, Jerusalem, is reduced to chaos, then it is inevitable, to this way of thinking [the Hebraic world view of the prophet], that the whole cosmos will be reduced to chaos."¹³⁶

The prophecy implicitly critiques an overconfident assumption of Zion theology.

Relying upon a belief in the inviolability of Zion, Israel misinterpreted the signs of the impending Day of Yahweh to be a signal of coming blessing (24:14-15). But the prophet, seeing Israel's covenantal disloyalty,¹³⁷ knew that judgement was directed at Israel, not the nations: "...they have transgressed the law, violated the statute, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore a curse has devoured the earth..." (24:5-6).¹³⁸

More than simple metaphorical language, the imagery of the return of chaos expresses a theological perception about covenantal life and the exile.¹³⁹ As W.

Brueggemann writes:

Exile was not simply displacement from the land but it was the experience of the end of creation, the exhaustion of salvation history, the demise of king, city, land and all those supports which gave structure and meaning to life... And when Yahweh's lordship is no longer visible, life returns to the way it was before he ordered it, chaotic... The moment of exile is an experience of chaos...¹⁴⁰

2.2 The Victory of Yahweh as *Chaoskampf* and New Creation: Isa 24:21-27:1

The tone of despair of the first section is dispelled by the proclamation of the eschatological Day of Yahweh. A typical *Chaoskampf* structure (threat of chaos, battle and

¹³⁶Johnson, *From Chaos*, 47.

¹³⁷See Johnson, *From Chaos*, 27-29.

¹³⁸Contra Millar, *Isa 24-27*, 65, 108, 112, who argues that Jerusalem and Israel are simply caught up into the process of Yahweh's emptying the earth in preparation for a new creation. The words of rejoicing in 24:14-16 show Israel's ignorance regarding the Day of Yahweh. Thinking it is a day of judgment for her enemies and her vindication, she breaks into rejoicing. Only the prophet realizes that the Day of Yahweh begins with judgment directed towards his people ("But I say..." 24:16b-18). See Johnson, *From Chaos*, 38.

¹³⁹Johnson, *From Chaos*, 45-46, J. Z. Smith, "Earth and the Gods," *Journal of Religion* 49 (1969) 103-27 esp. 118 - the exile "is above all a thoroughly mythic event: the return to chaos, the decreation, the separation from the deity is analogous to the total catastrophe of the primeval flood."

¹⁴⁰W. Brueggemann, "Weariness, Exile and Chaos," *CBQ* 34 (1972) 33-34.

victory, enthronement, feast, and blessing of the land with fertility) is used to depict Israel's restoration as an act of new creation.¹⁴¹

The description of Yahweh as victorious Creator over hostile powers opens and closes this section. Both use the formula "in that day (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא)" to announce eschatological action.¹⁴²

Isa 24:21

21 But it shall be in that day that Yahweh will punish
the host of the height in the height,
and the kings of the earth on the earth.

Isa 27:1

1 In that day Yahweh with his sharp and great and strong sword
will punish Leviathan, the fleeing serpent,
Leviathan, the twisting serpent,
and he will slay the dragon which is in the sea.

The Day of Yahweh will be marked by a banishing of chaos, whether in the divine realm or in the realm of human history. As the judgment of Yahweh upon Israel through the exile was described in the first section as the return of chaos, so now the restoration of Israel is described through the metaphor of Yahweh vanquishing chaos, a new creation.

In Isa 24:21-27:1, as throughout Isa 1-39, the chaos motif of the return of the waters identifies the waters with the nations.¹⁴³ In interpreting *Chaoskampf* as *Völkerringkampf*, as was done in other parts of the OT, creation imagery was used in this way to heighten the distinction between Israel and the nations. She was the result of God's creative acts. The nations represented the chaos which is overcome through creation.

¹⁴¹Millar, *Isa 24-27*, 65-81 has done the most to highlight the many elements in Isa 24-27 which reflect the creation/enthronement epic structure. However, his attempt to analyze the structure of 24-27 as 4 units which each reflect the sequence of threat, war, victory and feast must be said to be forced. Even by his own analysis, the feast is found only in two of these sections, one of which is 26:16-27b, which actually describes the rejuvenation of the land. Although recognizing the presence of elements common to creation/enthronement epics, we must reject his attempt (82ff) to set these chapters as specific *Chaoskampf* liturgy.

¹⁴²For a full discussion, see Johnson, *From Chaos*, 50-53.

¹⁴³Isa 17:12

Oh, the raging of many nations -
They rage like the raging sea
Oh, the uproar of the peoples -
They roar like the roaring of mighty waters.

See also Isa 5:30 and 8:6-7, 22.

Yet, within Isa 24-27 is also a seeming universalism. Following the victory of the Divine Warrior, a victory banquet is given on Zion (Isa 25:6-8). There Yahweh will "swallow up" death forever.¹⁴⁴ The tone of universal celebration is emphasized. The invitation is extended "for all peoples" (25:6). The veil of sorrow will be removed from "all nations" (25:7). Tears will be wiped away "from all faces" (25:8). But even the "universalistic" tone of the victory feast is tempered by what surrounds it in the text. Immediately preceding the feast is a celebration over the fall of Babylon (25:1-5, which also claimed to be the "cosmic mountain") and after the description of the feast is depicted the destruction of Moab (25:10-12).¹⁴⁵

Adding perspective to the offer of universal salvation is the context in which it is made available: the enthronement feast of Yahweh at Jerusalem, the cosmic mountain. As we noted regarding Isa 2 in our discussion of Zion tradition, the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations is "unto Zion." As Anderson writes, "Thus the whole Isaiah tradition elaborates a fundamental paradox: that if the peoples would know and worship the God whose sovereignty is universal, they must come to the symbolic 'center.'"¹⁴⁶ Thus while the invitation is to "all peoples," salvation is available only "in Zion." As Zion was shown to be the centre of creation through the judgment of Yahweh (if Zion is thrown into chaos, so is the cosmos) so in restoration this unique claim of Zion is reasserted.

A seeming dissonance is created by the juxtaposing of the themes of the judgment of the nations, the inclusion of the nations and the pre-eminence of Israel. This unresolved tension between the universalistic and ethnocentric characterizes Isa 40-55 also, as we shall see.

¹⁴⁴The "swallowing up of death" is likely a play on the swallowing up of Baal by Mot (death). Yahweh's victory in triumphing over death will surpass anything previously envisaged. Therefore, resurrection fits the *Chaoskampf* structure of the narrative.

¹⁴⁵A clear nationalistic interpretation of the feast is found in the Targum (J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah*, 78-79, cited by Johnson, 62).

And the Lord of hosts shall make for all nations in this mountain a feast and a festival; they shall consider that it is given for their honor but it shall be for their shame, even plagues from which they cannot escape, plagues wherein they will perish.

¹⁴⁶Anderson, "Apocalyptic Rendering," 21.

At the victory feast for all peoples, Yahweh will "remove the disgrace of *his people* from all the earth." "In that day," Jerusalem will be established in peace and victory (26:1). There the entire nation will meet the requirements of covenantal righteousness and be granted access to the holy city (26:2),¹⁴⁷ thus reversing the area of their previous failure. The national borders of Israel will be enlarged (26:15).

The most powerful image describing the future restoration of Israel is of a "national resurrection."¹⁴⁸

26:19a

19 Thy dead shall live, their bodies shall rise.
O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!

Creation through *Chaoskampf* reaches its climax with the re-creation of the nation of Israel. "As in primeval time when Yahweh created life out of chaos, so now Yahweh, the king, will re-create life out of the chaos of the exile. The finality of the destruction required the originality of a new creation, a resurrection."¹⁴⁹

2.3 The Reunification of Israel: Isa 27:2-13

In the final section of this composition, Isa 27:2-13, national hope following the exile is emphasized. The people of Israel will be regathered to worship Yahweh in Jerusalem (27:12-13). When Israel is replanted in the land, they will "fill the whole world with fruit."¹⁵⁰ The enthronement of Yahweh as Creator-King culminates in the restoration of Israel.

¹⁴⁷This emphasis upon the worship in "sacred space" is in keeping with other *Chaoskampf* stories where Temple building and the establishment of the cult follow enthronement.

¹⁴⁸That this is a reference to the resurrection of Israel as a nation and not to individual resurrection, see J. Day, "Il 'wrt in Isaiah 26:19," ZAW 90 (1978) 265-269 and Johnson, *From Chaos*, 70-81. The lament (26:7-19) is communal and contains a plea for national restoration. In the rest of the Isaianic corpus, birth imagery (26:17-18) refers to national rebirth. Death is another symbol of the exile, compare Isa 6:13-14, 29:1-4.

¹⁴⁹Johnson, *From Chaos*, 81. Compare Hos 6:2-3, Eze 37.

¹⁵⁰This is a depiction of Israel's growth following restoration, not a reference to Israel being a world-wide blessing, contra Johnson, *From Chaos*, 86. See R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 220.

3. Isaiah 40-55

3.1 Yahweh as Creator-Redeemer

In Isa 40-55, language used to describe acts of creation is one of the primary ways in which redemption and restoration are depicted.¹⁵¹ The declaration that Yahweh is the Creator (40:12, 21-26, 28, 41:4, 42:5, 45:7, 12, 18, 48:12-13) is most often linked with the proclamation of hope and salvation for exiled Israel. Furthermore, the designation of Yahweh as Creator occurs with specific reference to him as the Creator *of Israel* numerous times throughout Isa 40-55.

Isa 43:1

1 But now says Yahweh,
He who created you, O Jacob
He who formed you, O Israel:
"Fear not, for I have redeemed you..."

Isa 51:16

16 ...stretching out the heavens
and laying the foundations of the earth,
and saying to Zion "You are my people."

This relationship between Yahweh as Israel's Creator and his promises of salvation to those he elected is central to Isa 40-55 (43:7, 14-15, 16-21, 45:11-13, 51:13-16, 54:5-8).¹⁵² A number of words and phrases describe the creative activity of Yahweh. Prominent among these are בָּרָא (to create - 16x),¹⁵³ יָצַר (to form - 14x), עָשָׂה (to make - 23x), פָּעַל (to do,

¹⁵¹C. Stuhlmüller, "Yahweh-King and Deutero-Isaiah," *Biblical Research* 15 (1970) 39 estimates that outside of the "Servant Songs," creation vocabulary in reference to Yahweh occurs in one out of every four verses of Deut-Isa.

The seminal essay by G. Von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the O.T. Doctrine of Creation," in *Creation in the Old Testament* (ed. B.W. Anderson; London: SPCK: 1984) 53-64, in which he argues that the doctrine of creation "performs only an ancillary function" to the message of redemption, continues to shape the interpretation of the creation theology of Deut-Isa. See especially 56.

In recent times, challenges have been raised to Von Rad's statement, urging a recognition of the independent value of creation faith within Deut-Isaiah's proclamation. For instance, P. D. Harner, "Creation Faith in Deutero-Isaiah," *VT* 27 (1967) 298-306, supported by Ludwig, "Establishing of the Earth," 345-357. Yet, in the final conclusion, the focus remains on Israel's redemption (see Harner, 306). As summarized by B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* (Muilenburg FS; ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; London: SCM, 1962) 185: "His redemptive acts are acts of creation; and his creative acts are acts of [salvation] history."

¹⁵²A principle theme in Isa 40-55 is the affirmation of her divine election (42:1-4, 43:20-21, 44:5, 21-22, 45:4, 9-10, 51:4, 16, 52:5), Clements, "Beyond Tradition History," 104-105.

¹⁵³It is widely agreed that one of Deut-Isa major contributions to creation theology is the transformation of the term בָּרָא. What was previously a little used word becomes a central concept of creation which is then used to describe Yahweh's miraculous historical acts of salvation in the midst of chaos. See C. Stuhlmüller, "The Theology of Creation in Second Isaiah," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 446-451.

to perform - 7x), נָקַדָּה (to extend, to stretch out - 4x), רָקַע (to spread out [the earth, or firmament] - 2x). What is notable in the application of this creation vocabulary is that these words are employed primarily to describe the redemption of Israel (51 occurrences) and less frequently the initial creation of the cosmos (15 times).¹⁵⁴

3.2 The New Exodus as an Act of Creation

The depiction of Yahweh as Creator-Redeemer frequently places particular emphasis upon his role as the one victorious over chaotic powers (42:5, 44:24-28, 45:18, 51:13-16). An important creation reference in Isa 40-55 is that Yahweh "stretches out the heavens" and "establishes the earth" over the subdued waters (40:12-31, 42:5, 44:24, 45:9-13, 18, 48:13, 5:13, 16).¹⁵⁵

Another description of the restoration of Israel is of a new exodus (40:3-11, 41:17-20, 42:14-17, 43:1-7, 43:14-21, 44:1-5, 44:27, 48:20-21, 49:8-12, 50:2, 51:9-10, 52:11-12, 55:12-13).¹⁵⁶ Although elsewhere in the OT the Exodus is described with creation language, Deut-Isa brings together most explicitly traditional depictions of the Creator's triumph over the waters of Chaos with the promise of a New Exodus which inaugurates the period of restoration (see 41:17-20 and 43:16-21).

¹⁵⁴C. Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib 43; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970) 209-229. The entire chapter is devoted to a study of creation vocabulary. See also Ludwig, "Establishing of the Earth," 347-356 for how creation vocabulary is linked to the subduing of chaos.

¹⁵⁵See Ludwig, "Establishing the Earth," 346, Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 184, N. Habel, "Yahweh, Maker of Heaven and Earth," *JBL* 91 (1972) 334-335.

The centrality of this "creation over chaos" theme has led a number of scholars to argue that Deut-Isa took over the existing cult tradition of the (annual) enthronement of Yahweh, part of which included remembering/re-enacting his victory in *Chaoskampf*, and extended it to the concept of eschatological redemption. R. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterojesaja," *ZTK* 51(1954) 3-13 attempted to show the dependence of Deut-Isa upon established liturgy, in particular the power of Yahweh over Rahab and the primeval waters. C. Stuhlmueller, "Theology of Creation," 437-445, sees liturgical hymns as one of the three important areas which form the background of Deut-Isa, the other two being the redemptive acts in history and a belief in the fulfillment of prophecy. See also Ludwig, "Establishing of the Earth," 354, Miller, *Isaiah* 24-27, 95-102. Miller understands the Divine Warrior depiction of Second Isaiah to reflect a transformation of the earlier usage in Isa 24-27.

¹⁵⁶See J. Muilenburg, "Isaiah 40-66," *IB* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1956) 5.602. For an in-depth analysis, see B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 177-195, Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 59-94, and the extended bibliography Stuhlmueller cites on 59 n. 175. The exodus was an important point of reference in the proclamation of previous prophets, particularly in the Northern Kingdom. See Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181, esp. n. 7 and Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 59-66.

Deut-Isa alludes to the Flood tradition (54:9-10, Gen 8:21-22, 9:11-17), Paradise/Eden (51:3), the stretching out of the heavens and the establishing of the foundations of the earth over the waters (40:12-31, 42:5, 44:24, 45:9-13, 18, 48:13, 51:13, 16,) and utilizes the idea of "chaos" (45:18-19, Gen 1:2).

The sequence of primeval creation, exodus, and new creation/new exodus occurs in Isa 51:9-11.

Isa 51:9-11

- 9 Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of Yahweh,
Awake, as in days of old, the generations of long ago.
Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,
that didst pierce the dragon?
- 10 Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea, the waters of the great deep;
Thou didst make the depths of the sea a way
for the redeemed to pass over?
- 11 And the ransomed of Yahweh shall return,
and come to Zion with singing;
Everlasting joy shall be upon their heads...

Order will be brought out of the chaos of the exile by the one whose power established the earth by subduing Chaos in the primeval past. In an inseparable manner, these verses bring to bear both the primeval history of the creation of the world (*Urgeschichte*) and the salvation history of the Exodus (*Heilsgeschichte*) upon the eschatological hope of the restoration of Israel. The redemptive activity of Yahweh in the present is a continuation of his ordering of the cosmos out of chaos.¹⁵⁷

3.3 The Restored Land as the Paradise of Eden

Both the way through the wilderness during the New Exodus (41:17-20, 43:16-21, 49:8-12, 55:12-13, compare 35:8-10) and the Land itself in the eschatological day are depicted in terms of a transformation of wilderness to fertile gardens.¹⁵⁸

Isa 51:3

- 3 For Yahweh will comfort Zion
He will comfort all her waste places,
And will make her wilderness like Eden,
Her desert like the garden of Yahweh...

This transformation from wilderness to garden is a promise not only regarding the Land, but the people of God.

¹⁵⁷Ludwig, "Establishing of the Earth," 349, A. Bentzen, "On the Ideas of 'the old' and 'the new' in Deutero-Isaiah," *SITh* 1 (1948-49) 183-187, B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 190-195

¹⁵⁸As noted above, the rejuvenation of the land is an element often found in *Chaoskampf* stories in the ANE.

Isa 45:8

8 Shower, O heavens, from above,
And let the skies rain down righteousness;
Let the earth open, that salvation may sprout forth,
and let it cause righteousness to spring up also;
I, Yahweh, have created it.

Isa 44:2-3

2 Thus says Yahweh who made you,
Who formed you from the womb and will help you...
3 For I will pour water on the thirsty land,
And streams on the dry ground;
I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants,
And my blessing on your offspring.

These verses show the analogy between salvation and the restoration of creation.

3.4 "Light to the Nations?"

Does Isa 40-55 speak in terms of an unrelenting nationalism and ethnic particularism,¹⁵⁹ or do these chapters describe a Gentile mission, as many interpreters have argued?¹⁶⁰ If Gentiles are included in salvation, does this mark the lessening of the distinction between Israel as the elect nation and the Gentiles? The passages which have been understood to speak the most clearly of Yahweh's saving power being extended to the Gentiles are 42:1-9, 44:5, 45:14, 49:1-6. We will consider these passages briefly.

The vast majority of commentators have argued that 44:5 speaks clearly of the conversion of Gentiles.¹⁶¹

Isa 44:5

5 This one will say, "I am Yahweh's"
Another will call himself by the name of Jacob,
And another will write on his hand, "Yahweh's"
And surname himself by the name of Israel.

¹⁵⁹N. H. Snaith, "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (T. H. Robinson FS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1950) 191.

¹⁶⁰For instance, J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (AB20; New York: Doubleday, 1968), who writes on lvii, "The dominant theme of Second Isaiah is not salvation, but the mission of Israel for which the nation is saved... The idea of the mission of Israel... underlies most of the themes we identify as dominant in Second Isaiah." Similarly S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (New York: Abingdon, 1956) 207 - "This clearly denotes some kind of active missionary calling." For a good review, see R. Davidson, "Universalism in Second Isaiah" *SJT* 16 (1963) 166-173 and D. H. Odendaal, *The Eschatological Expectation of Isaiah 40-66 with Special Reference to Israel and the Nations* (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1970) 171-195.

¹⁶¹See in particular Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption*, 129-131 and Westermann, *Isaiah 40-60* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 137.

However, as Watts points out, the context of the entire address is exiled Israel, a people who have lost or denied their covenantal identity. Thus it can be argued that this verse speaks of "re-naming" in a manner similar to covenantal renewal: what was true in the past is newly affirmed in the present.¹⁶² Even if Gentiles are addressed, one point should not be lost: turning to Yahweh is synonymous with accepting the identity of an Israelite. To declare "I am Yahweh's" or to identify one's master by inscribing on the hand "Yahweh's" is concurrent with calling oneself "by the name of Jacob," or surnaming oneself "by the name of Israel" (44:5). For all, salvation is equivalent to their being identified with the people of Israel.

Isa 45:14b, where the nations declare "God is with you only, and there is no other, no god besides him," is another verse which interpreters have referred to as showing the possibility of universal salvation in Deut-Isa. However, many have ignored the context of this declaration: "they shall come over in chains and bow down to you" (45:14a). As Whybray points out, "as this confession is made by prisoners of war kneeling in chains before their Israelite conqueror, the situation can hardly be seen as an example of Israel's mission to the nations. This is rather an example of Israelite imperialism, spiritual as well as military."¹⁶³ The common mis-interpretation of this passage highlights one distinction of great importance: acknowledgment of Yahweh by the nations, homage given in fear by the conquered (see also 42:12, 52:10, 55:5) is not the same as enjoying his salvation or being included among his people on equal status with Israel. Isa 49:7 and 49:22-23 restate the picture of 45:14: the nations will plead for mercy in chains, bowing before Israel, and become slaves.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps the distinction between Israel and the nations is best summarized in Isa 43:3-4.

Isa 43:3-4

3 ...I give Egypt as your ransom,
Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you.
4 Because you are precious in my eyes, and honoured, and I love you,
I give men in return for you, people in exchange for your life.

¹⁶²J. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1987) 144-145.

¹⁶³R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 63.

¹⁶⁴Isa 41:2-3, 11-13, 43:14, 45:1-3, 46:1-2, 47:1-15, 48:14, 49:26, 51:7-8, 23, 54:15 all speak of the nations, particularly Babylon, with contempt or hostility.

Although this passage is highly figurative, it emphasizes Israel's unique and special value before Yahweh. Thus, the particularistic emphasis on Israel's identity as the chosen people of God and the recipients of Yahweh's eschatological salvation is maintained in Isa 40-55.

Yet, to return to Isa 45, although Israel's exaltation is emphasized in this chapter, the section does indeed climax with the cry, "Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth!" (45:22). Furthermore, in Isa 51:4-5, which follows the declaration of the restoration of Israel to a paradisiacal state (51:3), torah,¹⁶⁵ justice, and salvation/victory, key blessings upon Israel, are extended to the nations.¹⁶⁶ Finally, the attitude towards the Gentiles in these passages regarding the "Servant of Yahweh" (42:1-9-"justice to the nations," 49:1-6-"light to the Gentiles, salvation to the end of the earth,") forms a distinct contrast to nationalistic emphasis in the rest of Isa 40-55.¹⁶⁷

The emphasis upon the particularity of Israel, with the hope for full national restoration, is presented side-by-side with universalistic overtures in Isa 40-55. Most frequently expressed is the impending judgment and humiliation of the nations, particularly Babylon. Yet, other passages, especially the Servant passages of Isa 42 and 49, speak of the extension of salvation to the Gentiles. This paradox is fundamental to the concept of mission in the OT: only through the glorification of Israel as a clearly demarcated ethnic,

¹⁶⁵H. Gese, *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978) 81-84 has postulated an eschatological "Zion Torah" which is distinct from the Torah revealed at Sinai. This "Zion Torah" is inclusive of all peoples. He writes:

Accordingly we can distinguish in the OT between Zion Torah and Sinai Torah. ...even Torah is drawn into the eschatological dimension. At the conclusion of the process there is a new Torah... As Sinai has been replaced by Mount Zion, the world mountain, so Israel has been replaced by all the peoples.

Gese's proposal is developed by P. Stuhlmacher, "The Law as a Topic of Biblical Theology," in *Reconciliation, Law and Righteousness* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 110-133. Yet, as we have seen above, the concept of Zion as cosmic mountain and therefore the place of Yahweh's revelation was already a deeply rooted aspect of the Israelite theology from the monarchical period. Sinai and Zion had co-existed (albeit at times uncomfortably) as key theological symbols from the beginning of Israel's national history. To speak of a time when one superceded the other is unfounded.

As Von Rad, *OTT* 2:294, has argued, sections such as Isa 2:2-4 speak of a time in which the nations will no longer seek to settle disputes through warfare, but will come to Zion to hear the judgments of Yahweh on matters. War will be replaced by well-being when the entire world is ordered by Torah.

¹⁶⁶McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, lxxv-lxxvi.

¹⁶⁷Many interpreters who speak of the universality of Isa 40-55 are in actuality referring primarily to the Servant passages and fail to recognize the over-riding nationalism of these chapters as a whole.

political and religious group is the offer of salvation made available to the nations.¹⁶⁸

Universalism is a byproduct of national restoration.

4. Isaiah 56-66

4.1 The Emerging Distinction between the Nation of Israel and the People of God

Like the preceding sections of the book of Isaiah, the prophetic utterances found in Isa 56-66 are a combination of oracles of judgment and promises of salvation. However, one of the central characteristics of the third section of Isaiah is that the line between judgment and the promises of restoration frequently divides Israel herself. The righteous and the ungodly are not only a comparison between Israel and the nations, these groups are contrasts between those within Israel herself.¹⁶⁹ Receiving the harshest rebuke in these oracles are the religious aristocracy and their exclusive claims to holiness (Isa 65:5). The offerings and sacrifices of these priests are as offensive smoke before the face of Yahweh, and the prophet equates their cultic activities with pagan Canaanite practices.

4.2 New Creation and the Faithful

The juxtaposing of judgment against the rebellious and promises of salvation to the faithful is seen clearly in Isaiah 65, a description of the new creation. Chapter 65 begins with a demarcation *in Israel* between "a stubborn and rebellious people" (65:1-7, 11-2) and "my people who seek me" (65:10, 13-16).¹⁷⁰ Those who forsake Yahweh are destined for the sword and slaughter (65:12), but the faithful are give the hope of a new creation.

Isa 65: 17-19

17 For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth;
And the former things shall not be remembered or come into mind.
18 But be glad and rejoice forever in that which I create;
For behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing,

¹⁶⁸See Davidson, "Universalism," 176.

¹⁶⁹See the failure of social responsibility by those in power, 56:9ff, 57:1ff.

¹⁷⁰This relationship between judgment and salvation as being integral to the oracle has been forcefully argued by Hanson, *Dawn*, 135-146.

- 19 And her people a joy.
 I will rejoice in Jerusalem,
 And be glad in my people;
 No more shall be heard in it the sound of weeping
 and the cry of distress.

The new heavens and the new earth stand over against "the former things," which "shall not be remembered or come into mind." The eschatological hope of new creation in this final section of Isaiah restates many of the nationalistic hopes mentioned in preceding chapters of the book: possession of the Land, the re-establishment of Zion as the city of Yahweh and his people, regathering of the scattered of Israel, abundant progeny, the fertility of the land and the resulting abundance and joy.¹⁷¹

4.3 Worship in the New Creation

Yet in a most arresting manner, included in the category of the "tears and weeping" of the former times are the cultic establishments of temple and priesthood. A primary contrast between the old and the new creation is between the former exclusivity of the priestly cult (with its abuse of power, trust in cultic activity, and its claim as the sole mediator of the presence of Yahweh) and the future intimacy between Yahweh and all humble Israelites.

Isa 66:2-4a

- 2 But this is the man to whom I will look,
 He that is humble and contrite in spirit
 And trembles at my word.

- 3 He who slaughters an ox is like him who kills a man;¹⁷²
 He who sacrifices a lamb like him who breaks a dog's neck;
 He who presents a cereal offering like him who offers swine's
 blood;
 He who makes a memorial offering of frankincense, like him who
 blesses an idol...

¹⁷¹For an extended comparison with Isa 40-55, see U. Mauser, "Isaiah 65:17-25," *Int* 36 (1982) 181-82. He writes on 182, "In short, major themes in Isa 65:17-25 focus traditions important to all sections of the Isaianic tradition in the OT."

¹⁷²The translation of the conjunctive element in 66:3-4a is a central issue in understanding these verses. LXX, Vulg, and the DSS use the words comparatively - resulting in a condemnation of lawful rituals. Such a radical dismissal of divinely prescribed cultic rituals has no parallel in the OT. J. M. Sasson, "Isaiah lxvi 3-4a," *VT* 26 (1976) 199-207 proposes on 200 a translation which speaks of an abandonment of traditional rituals in favor of pagan rituals: "He who... would now..." Sasson's translation would continue the portrayal of the decline of the traditional priesthood. However, the radical nature of cultic reformation would be in keeping with the rest of Isa 56-66.

Thus, of chief importance in the presentation of the New Creation in the final chapters of Isaiah is a sharp critique of normative Israelite cultic worship and the promise of intimate access to the presence of Yahweh to those who are lowly and humble (Isa 65:24). The disjunction between the two epochs, the former things and the new, addresses the heart of normative Israelite religion. The presence of Yahweh, once mediated through the cultic activities of priests, will be available for all who are humble and obedient among the faithful of Israel.

4.4 The Nations in the New Creation

The juxtaposing of judgment against the rebellious and promises of salvation to the faithful is an important characteristic of this portion of the book of Isaiah, and is a necessary backdrop to the understanding of the new creation as spoken of in this section. The new creation is not the restoration of all Israel, it is the elevation of faithful Israel to life and existence as Yahweh intended. In this manner, the new creation in the last part of Isaiah is no longer a *nationalistic* hope, but a reward to the faithful, in both an individual and collective sense. This narrowing of the boundaries of the righteous within Israel is accompanied by a broadening of the idea of the participation of the Gentiles in Israel's future salvation.

Isa 66:20-23

- 20 And they (the nations) shall bring all your brethren from all the nations as an offering to Yahweh... to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says Yahweh, just as the Israelites bring their cereal offering in a clean vessel to the house of Yahweh.
- 21 And some of them also I will take for priests and for Levites, says Yahweh.
- 22 For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, says Yahweh,
So shall your descendants and your name remain.
- 23 From new moon to new moon,
And from sabbath to sabbath,
All flesh shall come to worship before me, says Yahweh.

Contrasting the exclusion of some in Israel is the inclusion of some from the nations. Not only will "all flesh" come and worship before Yahweh (66:23) and behold his glory (66:18-

19), priests and Levites will be selected from among the Gentile pilgrims (Isa 66:21).¹⁷³

This radical attitude of the inclusion of the believing Gentile is signaled from the very beginning of the third section of Isaiah (Isa 56:3, 6-7). In the new creation of Isa 56-66, the ethnocentric boundaries to the sacred space of Zion are removed. Gentiles who are faithful to Yahweh enjoy the same privilege of access to Yahweh as ethnic Israelites who demonstrate fidelity to the covenant.

This community of faithful Jews and Gentiles will remain eternally established before Yahweh, just as the new heavens and earth will be established in perpetuity (66:22). The same type of cosmic oath used to establish the eternal standing of the nation Israel, the Davidic dynasty and the Levitical priesthood in Jer 31:37, 33:17-26 in Isaiah guarantees the permanent ethnic inclusiveness of the eschatological Zion.

Yet, even in what represents some of the most far-reaching universalism in the OT, the continuing priority of Yahweh's covenant with Israel remains. Not only is Zion preeminent as the spiritual capital of the world, political preeminence continues to be an eschatological hope. The Divine Warrior will arise and execute judgment on Israel's enemies (59:17-19, 60:12, 63:1-6, also 61:2 and 62:4). The "wealth of the nations" will be brought to glorified Zion (60:5, 11, 61:6, 66:12 see also 60:16). Foreign kings shall serve Israel (60:3, 10, 12), and former oppressors will bow in recognition of Zion's status as "City of Yahweh" (60:14). Thus, Israel will be vindicated before the nations of the world (61:9, 62:1-2). Even in Isa 56-65, the most universalistic presentation of Yahweh's salvation in Isaiah, the message of hope makes a clear distinction between Israel as the covenant people of God and the nations. The eschatological age will see both Israel's national preeminence as well as the blessings of Zion being offered to the Gentiles.

¹⁷³Supporting this reading is E. Achtemeier, *The Community and Message of Isaiah 56-66* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982) 18, Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 365, C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 426. The bringing back of Israelites scattered among the nations by foreigners is spoken of also in 14:1-2, 49:22, and 60:4.

5. Summary and Conclusions.

5.1 Yahweh is the Creator-God.

This assertion underpins both the depiction of judgment as chaos in Isa 24, as well as the hope of restoration depicted in each section we considered. The Isaianic corpus clearly establishes Israel's eschatological hopes on the belief that Yahweh, who in primeval times triumphed over chaos, will in the future establish a new creation in place of the present chaotic situation. As has been well attested, Isa 40-55 in particular develops the theme of Yahweh as Creator-Redeemer.

5.2 Covenant and World Order

In Isa 24, chaos results as Yahweh judges his covenant people by means of the exile. The cosmos crumbles because the cosmic centre, Jerusalem, is destroyed. Therefore, covenant and world order are linked, as in Jer 4. Because Zion functions as cosmic centre, her destruction signals the end of order, and the cosmos returns to chaos.

5.3 Redemption as New Creation.

In the three sections of Isaiah reviewed, eschatological redemption is pictured as a new creation. Yahweh, who created the world and who created Israel, will create Israel anew. The *Chaoskampf* pattern is utilized in Isa 24-27, and is used as well in tandem with the picture of the New Exodus in Isa 40-55 to describe Israel's restoration. The Land will be renewed to be as the Garden of Eden.

5.4 Nationalism in the New Creation

All three sections of Isaiah reviewed also apply creation language to nationalistic and ethnocentric interests. The nation is re-established as the exiles return. Zion will be glorified, vindicated through the judgment of her enemies. She will once again function as

the Cosmic Mountain, the centre and source of cosmic order and life. Israel will be raised to preeminence among the nations and enjoy the wealth of the nations given her in tribute.

5.5 The Inclusion of the Gentiles in Eschatological Salvation

Although all three sections of Isaiah assert the strongest nationalistic hopes, they each also address the issue of the inclusion of Gentiles in eschatological salvation. In 24-27, the nations partake in the enthronement feast of Yahweh on Zion. The role of the Servant as "light to the Gentiles" and the offer of salvation to "the ends of the earth" are well known themes found in Isa 40-55. Finally, we find in Is 56-66 the breaking down of the boundaries of cult and race which qualified access to the divine presence. In the New Creation, worship will no longer lie in the exclusive confines of the priestly cult. Access to Yahweh's presence will be available to every Israelite who is humble in heart. Gentiles will even be selected for perpetual service to Yahweh on Zion. Thus in Isaiah, we find side-by-side firm nationalistic hopes and the most consistently inclusive attitude to the Gentiles in the OT Scriptures.

SECTION 7. CONCLUSION

1. Yahweh, Creator of the World and Sustainer of the Land.

Two major emphases of creation theology are manifested in the prophetic faith in Yahweh as the Creator. Jeremiah and the Isaianic corpus repeatedly stress that Yahweh was the creator of the cosmos, the one who set in place the celestial lights and established the earth over the waters of chaos. As such, he was the all-powerful God, due the greatest reverence and honour. Yahweh was also the present-acting creator who sustained the land of Israel and its peoples. He ordained the cycles of rain which caused fertility and plenty in his land. This blessing was an extension of his covenant relationship with Israel.

2. Covenantal Judgment and World Order

An emphasis found in Jeremiah is that Yahweh, as the creator, will disrupt the cycles of nature in judgment for Israel's covenantal infidelity. This relationship between covenant and creation is widened from a local to a cosmic scale in Jer 4 (described as the reversal of Gen 1) and Isa 24. In these chapters, the exile¹⁷⁴ is described vividly as the end of creation and the return of chaos. Chaos is not a force which opposes the creator, it is the result of Yahweh's desolating covenantal judgement sent against his unfaithful people. Covenantal unfaithfulness threatens cosmic structure as covenantal judgement is described as the undoing of existence. The description of the exile as chaos also highlights the role of Zion in world order. When Jerusalem, the centre of the cosmos, is abandoned by Yahweh and destroyed, all of the creative order is undone. What is metaphorical on the physical end (the destruction of the Land as chaos) is a reality from a theological perspective. Creation and existence is defined by election and covenant: life depends on the covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel. When Yahweh sends such decisive judgement against Israel, creation ceases and chaos is re-established.

¹⁷⁴In post-exilic readings, the Day of Yahweh.

3. Restoration as New Creation

One of the chief reasons why Jeremiah and Isaiah so frequently point to Yahweh as the Creator is to instill hope into the people of Israel in exile.¹⁷⁵ The one who created the world in primeval times has the ability to recreate Israel's future out of the chaos of the exile. Often, the *Chaoskampf* pattern becomes the model for describing the promise of New Creation (for example, Eze 39-48, Isa 25-27, Isa 51:9-11 - the return as New Exodus/*Chaoskampf*). Included in this pattern is the threat of chaos, the victory of the Divine Warrior, celebration and enthronement, the restoration of the fertility of the land, and the establishment of the divine sanctuary.

4. The Restored Land as Eden.

The fertility and abundance of the restored Land is often described utilizing Paradise imagery and many times with direct reference to "Eden." Beyond natural plenty, the Land will be Paradise because it will again be the dwelling place of God (Eze 40-48). Thus, the symbolic meaning of Paradise is applied to eschatologically glorified Israel.

5. The Redeemed People of God as the New Humanity

In both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, eschatological restoration involves the inner transformation of the Israelite which will enable faithfulness and loyalty to the covenant and its stipulations. Eze 37 describes this process specifically as a repetition of Gen 2, the "Spirit" bestowed in the new era animating covenantal life as the "breath" of God animated physical life at creation.

6. The Cult in the New Creation

Differing pictures of the cult and cultic practice are found in the prophetic books we have considered. Jeremiah foretells of the restoration of the Levites to a permanence in

¹⁷⁵Ezekiel accomplishes the same end through the vision of Yahweh's throne-chariot in the opening chapters of the book.

office equivalent to the "fixed decrees" which underpin the universe. As the cosmos is immeasurable, so too will be the members of the priestly tribe.

In Ezekiel 40-48, the re-establishment of the Temple crowns the process of cosmogony. Because Yahweh dwells in the eschatological Temple, the entire Land itself becomes sacred space. Holiness and obedience must characterize each worshipper who lives in the Land. Ezekiel places great emphasis on cleansing and cultic purity of people and priests. This purity even extends to the specific depiction of the kitchens in the New Temple. Furthermore, this emphasis on purity demands the exclusion of foreigners from this sacred space.

However, in Isa 56-66, a contrasting picture emerges. The new creation specifically marks the passing away of former cultic practices and the former boundaries used to demarcate sacred space and holy people. Access to God is available to all in Israel who are humble in heart. Gentiles are not only included among the worshippers in eschatological Zion, some are even selected to everlasting priestly and Levitical service.

7. Nationalism and Universalism in the New Creation

All the prophetic writings we examined depict the New Creation as a period of never-ending national glory and exaltation for Israel. Throughout these prophetic books, creation language and imagery is utilized to underpin nationalistic and ethnocentric hopes. Creation faith and creation language describe:

- 1) the regathering, reunification and return of the tribes,
- 2) the vindication of Israel through the judgment of the nations,
- 3) the restoration of kingship,
- 4) the preeminence of Israel, recognized by the nations through obeisance and tribute,
- 5) the glorification of the Land,
- 6) the return of Zion to her role as the Cosmic Mountain.

Even in the sections we studied which speak most clearly about salvation being extended to the Gentiles (Isa 40-55, 56-66), the political domination of Israel is uncompromisingly portrayed.

The various depictions of *Völkerfahrt*, the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations to Zion, bring to light a key discovery regarding the role of ethnocentric ideology in the new creation. Worship, not politics, becomes the possible point of inclusion. *Völkerfahrt* both acknowledges political preeminence and makes possible the sharing of Israel's blessings of Yahweh's presence and Yahweh's word (Torah) with the nations. (As we have repeatedly stated, this type of universalism is at the same time a manifestation of nationalism.)

Yet, as we have seen, the issue of cult in the new creation is marked by diversity in the prophetic writings to the same degree as the issue of national glorification is marked by unanimity. Therefore, the diversity found in the OT scriptures themselves provides the basis for the diversity to be found in first century Judaism on one key issue: what are the essentials for belonging to the People of God, the people who have access to God?

8. The Identity of the People of God in the New Creation

In the three prophetic books we have surveyed, the eschatological identity of the People of God retains nationalistic hopes and ethnic boundaries. Both political dominion and the observance of the stipulations of covenant will be realities in the new era. Israel's election by Yahweh and to Yahweh is something carried into the future restoration. Creation language and imagery is widely used to support this belief.

Yet, these prophetic books at times open the possibility of the Gentiles being included as worshippers in Zion. Nationalism and Mission are not seen in the prophets as being mutually exclusive realities in the New Creation.

Chapter 2. Wisdom Literature: Creation and Election in the Hellenistic Era

SECTION 1. BEN SIRA: CREATION, COVENANT AND CULT

1. Introduction

The book of Sirach, or the Wisdom of Ben Sira, represents a direct response from conservative Palestinian Judaism to inroads which were being made by Hellenism into Jewish society and religion in the early second century BCE. Internal evidence indicates that the book by Jesus Ben Sira was published ca. 180 BCE in Palestine.¹ Portions of the Hebrew text have been discovered in various recensions among documents from the Cairo Genizah, Qumran, and Masada. As the autobiographical prologue to the Greek translation indicates, the book was translated into Greek by the grandson of Ben Sira, who published the work in Egypt sometime shortly after 116 BCE.²

Central to Ben Sira's purpose in his writings was to identify the wisdom being sought after universally (frequently personified as Wisdom) with exclusive reference to conservative Judaism.³ Hellenistic science and philosophy had shaken the traditional beliefs of many in Judaism, resulting in a loss of religious and social identity. Ben Sira was a

¹While the author seems to have been an eye-witness to the performing of priestly duties by Simon II (50:1-21), his references to Simon also seem to indicate the death of the high-priest. The writing is clearly pre-Maccabean.

²Other Hebrew fragments also exist. The questions of text, dating and authorship are surveyed in detail in P. Skehan and A. A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987) 8-10, 51-62. See also G. Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille* (WUNT 12; Tübingen: Mohr, 1971) 24-25 and G. Vermes, "Methodology in the Study of Jewish Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJS* 36 (1985) 149.

Unless noted, all ET of the text of Ben Sira are taken from Skehan and DiLella, and Heb MS A, B, C, D and E are from M. H. Segal, *Sefer ben Sira Hashalem* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958). Also consulted was A. E. Cowley and A. Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897). The Masada texts (Sir 39:27-44:17) are from Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada: With Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965). LXX is from J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta 12/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) with reference to A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). We will use "Ben Sira" to refer to the author, and "Sirach" to refer to the book.

³Of course, it would be more proper to speak of "conservative Judaisms." But we are referring to the broadest distinction between conservative Jews and liberalized Hellenistic Jews (those who *consciously* embraced Hellenism).

learned scribe, well-versed in, and to a degree appreciative of, international wisdom.⁴ His quest for wisdom, in the sense of insight into world order and world history, concluded in a reaffirmation of the central ideas of Judaism: election, covenant, faithfulness to the Torah and the presence of Yahweh in the celebration of the cult.⁵

Many portions of his book reflect the desire to undergird three of the central ideas of Judaism. First, Ben Sira sought to reestablish the concept of Israel's election. The traditional understanding of the identity of Israel as the people of God, those elected into a special relationship with God and for a specific purpose in the world, had come under a cloud of doubt in the Hellenistic era. Such a claim could seem outdated in the midst of the new pluralistic era, both to those outside Judaism and most importantly to liberalized sectors within Judaism. Secondly, loyalty to the worldview and lifestyle portrayed in the Torah had been severely challenged by Hellenism both in the intellectual and social realm. By associating wisdom and Torah, Ben Sira sought to underscore the value of the Torah, the covenant between God and the elect nation. Thirdly, Ben Sira addressed his writing to the confusion and controversy surrounding the cult in the period in which he lived. Recent studies have shown conclusively that Ben Sira was a priest.⁶ As a "temple state," the cult

⁴T. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras Zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 7-31 has drawn up a list of Greek authors, including Sophocles, Xenophon, Euripides, Hesiod and Homer, whose writings seem to have influenced Ben Sira's work. J. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* (SBLMS 28; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) addresses at length evidence that Ben Sira was well acquainted with Greek writings and Egyptian wisdom. See as well M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974) 1.148-9.

⁵The general view accepted by most scholars. See in particular Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.131-134. See also R. T. Siebeneck, "May Their Bones Return to Life! Sirach's Praise of the Fathers," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 411, and A. A. DiLella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," in *Studies in Israelite Wisdom* (ed. J. L. Crenshaw; New York: KTAV, 1976) 401-416.

⁶See particularly the work of H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter: Eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor-Makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehre* (WUNT 2/6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1981) and S. M. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80 (1987) 261-286. Against many who have argued (1) that Ben Sira is more interested in ethical than liturgical concerns, (2) that he appreciates the temple ceremony but shows little interest in the cult itself, these authors have shown that Ben Sira's critique of cultic abuses (versus a critique of the cult itself) in passages such as Sir 34:18-35:20 (31:21-32:20) is a critique (and appreciation) *from within*. Passages such as Sir 7:29-31, which place in parallel relationship to God and relationship to the priesthood, should be read with their full weight. As our study reinforces, the priesthood and cult were of particular importance to Ben Sira as the culmination of Israel's election and her claim to wisdom. See Stadelmann, 40-55 and Olyan, 261-263 for reviews of previous positions on Ben Sira and the priestly cult. M. E. Stone, "Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of F. M. Cross* (ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, S. D. McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 575-586 provides a succinct overview of the portrayal of the scribe in Sirach.

lay at the core of Israel's national and political identity. But turmoil had resulted in this area due to competing claims from different priestly families, conflicts between liberal and conservative elements, and the politicizing of the office of High Priest.⁷ His attempt to link universal wisdom and the glory of creation to Israel's cult will be seen to be an important aspect of Ben Sira's nationalistic and ethnocentric concerns. As E. P. Sanders writes of even the proverbial and general wisdom found in Sirach, "Despite the universal tone of such passages and the use of various widespread wisdom motifs, the election and the covenant with Israel are never far from the author's mind."⁸ More specifically, "The point of Ben Ben Sira's pronounced identification of wisdom and Torah, however, has not to do with the *content* of the instruction, but with the idea of *election*: only Israel really has wisdom."⁹

Alongside his interest in upholding the traditional beliefs of Judaism, Ben Sira's writings show a remarkable interest in the creation traditions of Genesis 1-3. Our study will focus on how these creation traditions were utilized by Ben Sira to reinforce the particularistic and nationalistic interests of conservative Judaism (election, Torah and cult). The most developed references to Gen 1-3 and other creation traditions are found within sections which deal with the issue of Israel's election and unique role in the world. A regular procedure used in the various arguments presented by Ben Sira was to argue from the general to the specific, from the universal to the particular. As we shall see, creation tradition frequently provided the universal starting point in arguments which concluded by claiming Israel's exclusive possession of wisdom and the resulting glory of her cult. Furthermore, in concert with Zion tradition, Ben Sira utilizes Paradise imagery and tradition to illustrate the claim that covenantal life and the cult ordained by the covenant are

⁷For the influence of the cult upon Israel's national identity, and for details of the controversy surrounding the Temple in Ben Sira's lifetime, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.26-27, 133-134. Both L. Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult: A Critical Analysis of the Views of Cult in the Wisdom Literatures of Israel and the Ancient Near East* (SBLDS 30; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 192-195 and Olyan, 267-285 also deal with the historical situation with much detail..

⁸Sanders, *PPJ*, 329. Similarly, J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BBB 37; Bonn: Hanstein, 1971) 130-131, who also notes the connection between wisdom and the election of Israel. However, Marböck, 61-3, 72, 79-80 downplays the ethnocentric emphasis in the identification of wisdom with Torah, feeling that the link between wisdom and creation gives a universalistic theme which is held in tension with the nationalistic elements of the book.

⁹Sanders, *PPJ*, 331 n. 6.

actualizations of the glory and perfection of Paradise. Finally, we shall see that Ben Sira is an example of the "nationalistic" exegesis found throughout this period, where the narratives of Gen 1-3 began to be read from a specifically ethnocentric perspective and with an ethnocentric purpose. The evidence we examine will show that in Sirach, creation, covenant and cult stand in a continuum which reinforces the ethnocentric boundaries of the people of God.

2. Nationalism in Ben Sira

As the prayer recorded in Sir 35:22-36:20 shows, Ben Sira was nationalistic and this-worldly in his hopes for the future. He longed for the defeat of Israel's enemies (probably a direct reference to the Seleucid government) and the glorification of Zion.

Sir 35:22b-36:12

22b God indeed will not delay,
and like a warrior, will not be still
Till he breaks the backs of the merciless
23 and wreaks vengeance upon the nations;
Till he destroys the scepter of the proud
and breaks off short the staff of the wicked;
25 Till he defends the cause of his people,
and gladdens them by his saving help.

36:1 Come to our aid, God of the universe,
2 and put all the nations in dread of you!
3 Raise your hand against the foreign nations,
that they may see your mighty deeds.
4 As you have used us to show them your holiness,
so now use them to show us your glory.
5 Thus they will know, as we know,
that there is no God but you.

6 Give new signs and work new wonders;
7 show forth the splendor of your right hand and arm;
8 Rouse your anger, pour out wrath,
9 humble the enemy, scatter the foe.
10 Hasten the ending, appoint the time
when your mighty deeds are to be proclaimed:
11 Let raging fire consume the fugitive,
and your people's oppressors meet destruction;
12 Smash the heads of the hostile rulers,
who say, "There is no one besides me!"

God is urged, as the Divine Warrior, to judge and utterly destroy all who oppress Israel. As Israel's judgment by its subjection to the nations had been a sign of God's holiness, so the

judgment of the nations will be a witness to God's glory (36:4). The God of the universe is the one who will vindicate Israel and humble the nations (36:1). The ethnic dualism between Israel and the nations is pointedly reinforced by the sharpness of the language used.

The prayer concludes with a concern for national salvation which blends together Exodus tradition and Zion theology.

Sir 36:13-20

13 Gather all the tribes of Jacob,
16 that they may inherit the land as in days of old.
17 Show mercy to the people called by your name:
Israel, whom you named your firstborn.
18 Take pity on your holy city,
Jerusalem, the foundation for your throne.
19 Fill Zion with your majesty,
your temple with your glory.
20 Give evidence of your deeds of old;
fulfil the prophecies spoken in your name,

In the call for a repetition of God's act of salvation in the Exodus, for the regathering of Israel and for the fulfillment of God's unique purpose for Zion through her restoration as God's dwelling place,¹⁰ the prayer underscores the fact that Ben Sira stands firmly within the nationalistic outlook found in the writings of the prophets.¹¹ We now examine how this nationalism is evident in Ben Sira's interpretation of Gen 1-3.

3. The Interpretation of Gen 1-3 and the Election of Israel

3.1 Sir 33:7-13

An example of an "ethnocentric" interpretation of Gen 1-3 is Sir 33:7-13, where the ethnic dualism between Israel and the Gentiles is explained in terms of God's sovereignty as Creator and as an extension of his ordering of the cosmos. Setting out the parallel halves of the passage illustrates the direct correlation drawn between creation and election.

¹⁰See Sir 49:12.

¹¹See J. L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981) 166-167 and Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.134, who writes, "In general, Ben Sira shows a considerable *political interest* in a nationalistic Jewish sense, which culminates in a completely this - worldly expectation of salvation for his people." Compare Sir 17:17, 35:22ff, and particularly 50:25-26.

My whole being loathes two nations, the third is not even a people:
Those who live in Seir and Philistia, and the foolish folk who dwell in Shechem.

Sir 33:7-13

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>7 Why is one day more important than another,
when the same sun lights up
every day of the year?</p> <p>8 By the Lord's knowledge they are kept distinct;
among them he designates seasons and feasts.</p> <p>9 Some he exalts
and sanctifies,
and others he lists as ordinary days.</p> | <p>10 So, too, all people are of clay,
for from earth humankind (Adam)
was formed;</p> <p>11 Yet in the fullness of his understanding
the Lord makes people unlike:
in different paths (destinies) he has them
walk.</p> <p>12 Some he blesses and makes great,
some he sanctifies and draws to himself.
Others he curses and brings low,
and expels them from their place.</p> |
|---|---|

13 Like clay in the hands of a potter,
to be molded according to his pleasure,
So are people in the hands of their Maker,
to be requited according as he judges them.

The central issue of this passage is the election of Israel from among the nations and her unique identity in relationship to God (v 12). God has blessed and made her great, a reference to the covenant of Abraham (Gen 12:2, Sir 44:21-23, compare Gen 15:5, 22:17, 24:60, 28:14, Ex 32:13, Deut 1:10). The people of Israel are those whom God "sanctifies and draws to himself" a description used of the priesthood in the OT (Num 16:5-7, Eze 40:46, 42:13, 45:4). In contrast to her are the Gentile nations, described in terms of the Canaanites who God cursed, made low and expelled "from their place" (Gen 9:25-27, Ex 33:1-3, Deut 34:1-4, 1Sam 2:6-8). Thus, the thrust of the poem is directed against those who would question Israel's *special election*, an issue, as we have noted, raised in particular by Hellenistic Jews.¹²

In order to support this claim of Israel's special status, Ben Sira interprets Gen 1-2 in a ethnocentric fashion. The parallelism between 33:7-9 and 33:10-12 is certainly intentional. Although the beginning and source of each day is the sun, God decreed that certain days would be sanctified and exalted (Gen 1:14, particularly the Sabbath and the feast days of Israel's cultic calendar).¹³ Following the logic of this argument, Ben Sira applied the determinative function of God's wisdom to mankind. With clear reference to Gen 2, he states that all human beings, like Adam, are formed from dust.

¹²See Skehan and DiLella, 400.

¹³J. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach* (CBC; Cambridge: CUP, 1974) 161-2. The importance of the issue of the cultic calendar during this period will be examined in the chapter on Apocalyptic Literature.

Sir 33.10

καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους,
καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδὰμ.

וכל אִישׁ מכלי חמר
ומן עפר נוצר אדם

Yet although they share the same point of origin, like different days their destinies can be very contrasting. As the Sabbath and feast days are sanctified and distinguished from other common days, so too Israel is uniquely set apart from the nations unto God.¹⁴ The Lord who distinguished between days has also *in the fullness of wisdom* made distinctions among humanity. Although formed from the same mortal clay as all other humans, Israel is blessed and exalted because of God's election. As we shall see in Sir 17:11-14, it is the election of Israel to receive the gift of Wisdom/Torah which imparts glory to the humble origins she shares with all humanity. Thus, the emphasis in this passage is not on the mortality which is common to all humans, but on the exaltation of Israel from the common clay through divine election.¹⁵

Ben Sira continues in the imagery of Gen 2 by utilizing the anthropomorphic picture of God as potter found in the second creation narrative. The Maker who formed Adam out of clay (Gen 2:7) has the right to exercise free determination over the material he uses in his work.¹⁶ Ben Sira roots Israel's special existence before God in the right of God as Creator, illustrated by reference to Gen 2. In our study of Gen 1-2, we established that the creation narratives were forward looking to the election of Israel, but were not nationalistic in and of themselves. This passage shows that in the intertestamental period the creation stories began to be interpreted as having specific reference to Israel's special status.

¹⁴This analogy between the sanctification of the Sabbath and the election of Israel is also found in Jub 2:19, 21, 31.

A similar line of reasoning to Sir 33:7-13 occurs also in *b. Sahn*. 65b. A Roman officer asked Rabbi Akiba (early 2nd century CE), "Wherein does the Sabbath differ from any other day?" He replied, "Wherein does one man differ from another?" - "Because my Lord (the Emperor) wishes it." Rabbi Akiba replied, "The Sabbath too, then, is distinguished because the Lord wishes it so."

¹⁵Contra Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 41-42. While mortality unites all mankind (as Levison points out), Ben Sira's emphasis is that election elevates and distinguishes Israel from all other humans.

¹⁶Other references to God as potter include Isa 29:16, 45:9, 64:7, Jer 18:3-6, WisSol 15:7, Rom 9:20-23.

3.2 Sir 15:11-18:14

Similar use of the creation narratives occurs twice in Sir 15:11-18:14, an extended section on the issues of sin ("where does sin originate?") and divine justice ("does God observe sin?").¹⁷

Creation, Free-will and Covenantal Faithfulness: Sir 15:11-20

Sir 15:11-20, the introduction of this section, states that God is not the author of sin.

Rather,

Sir 15:14-18a

- 14 It was he, from the first, when he created humankind,
who made them subject to their own free choice.
- 15 If you choose, you can keep his commandment;
fidelity (Heb-understanding) is the doing of his will.
- 16 There are poured out before you fire and water;
to whichever you choose you can stretch forth your hands.
- 17 Before each person are life and death;
whichever he chooses shall be given him.
- 18 Copious is the wisdom of the LORD...

Human sin is not the result of divine determinism or divine failure (15:11-13, 19-20), but is the result of human choice. From the beginning, humanity has been left to their own free choice (Sir 15:14 - יצר).¹⁸ Verse 14a in MS A and MS B^{mg} reads "God in the beginning created Adam" (אלהים מבראשית ברא אדם). The conscious borrowing of the vocabulary of Gen 1:1 (בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים) and 1:27 (וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם) shows that the intended background for what follows is the creation stories. As we discussed earlier, one of the central themes of Gen 2-3 is that life is sustained by fidelity to Yahweh's command and death is chosen by breaking faith through disobedience. This theme of the freedom of the will to choose life or death is repeated in Sir 15:14: every human faces the same decision between life or death as the first man. This belief that mankind was created with free will is a fundamental idea in Ben Sira's anthropology.¹⁹

¹⁷J. L. Crenshaw, "The Problem of Theodicy in Sirach: On Human Bondage," *JBL* 94 (1975) 51-52.

¹⁸Compare Gen 6:5 and 8:21.

¹⁹For a full discussion, see Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille*, 91-97, O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1973) 146-147, Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 34-35. However, Maier does point out that while Sir 15:14 and 27:6 speak of יצר as a "neutral inclination," Sir 21:11, where יצר possibly is the word translated ἐννόμη, seems to look ahead to the Rabbinic concept of יצר. See also J. Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach: Ihre religiöse Struktur und ihre literarische und*

Ben Sira establishes the *covenantal* context of the exercise of free will by the language he draws upon. The decisions exercised in free will deal with choices for covenantal fidelity, of "keeping the commandment" (מִצְוָה) and "doing God's will," of responding to the covenantal summons of Deut 11:26-8 and 30:15-20 to choose between life and death (Sir 15:15-17). Thus Ben Sira takes the implicit Torah-theology of Gen 2-3 and rereads it with more explicit reference to Israel's covenant with God.²⁰ The covenantal context of his anthropology comes into full light as the didactic poem continues.

Creation and World Order: Sir 16:26-30

Continuing the discussion on sin and divine justice, the didactic poem found in Sir 16:24-17:14 forms the central core of the extended section on divine theodicy (15:11-18:14). While the obvious dependence of this text upon the Genesis creation narratives has been noted by many scholars,²¹ our study will show that the interpretation of Gen 1-3 in this section continues (from 15:14-18) to establish the contrast between the general humility and mortality of humanity and the special glory given Israel by her election and the gift of the Torah. In this section, the scribe's argument builds from creation to covenant, a sequence we shall continue to see as our study of Sirach progresses.

doktrinaire Bedeutung (AnBib 30; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1967) 245 n. 46. On the defense of the doctrine of the freedom of the will against certain Hellenistic ideas, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.140-141.

²⁰Contra Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 35, who concludes, "This combination of Genesis 1 and 6 expresses Ben Sira's main response: wisdom, the choice to fear God, is universally accessible to all people. The צָרָה as a neutral capacity is the ability with which God endows all since the creation."

²¹Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 51-55, G. T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament* (BZAW 151; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 72-83, Skehan and DiLella, 281-282, Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 85-87.

Sir 16:26-30²²

- 26 When God created his works from the beginning,
After making them he assigned them [their] portion.
27 He set in order his works forever,
And their authority unto their generations.
They neither hunger nor grow weary,
And they cease not from their work.
28 No one thrusts aside its neighbour,
They will never disobey his word.
29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth,
and filled it with his good things;
30 with all kinds of living beings he covered its surface,
and to it they return.

- 26 Ἐν κτίσει κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
καὶ ἀπὸ ποιήσεως αὐτῶν διέστειλεν μερίδας αὐτῶν.

God's creative activity in Genesis 1 is rehearsed, with emphasis placed upon the precision by which the cosmos was carefully ordered according to God's determined plan.²³ The phrases in 16:26a, "When God created (כִּבְרָא)" and "from the beginning (מֵרֵאשִׁית)" are the words of Gen 1:1 modified by temporal indicators (בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא, compare also Gen 2:4). The division of creation into portions (16:26b)²⁴ recalls the series of separations/divisions which formed the creative process in Gen 1:4, 6, 7, 18. The authority or dominion of the heavenly bodies (16:27) reflects Gen 1:14-19, where the heavenly lights 'rule' over the night and day, and determine signs, seasons, days and years.²⁵ The mention of God "looking" upon creation and filling it with "good" things (16:29) seems to be a reference to the phrase occurring throughout Gen 1, "And God saw that it was good."²⁶ Finally, "all

²²Unless noted, ET for Sir 16:26-17:14 is by Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 73.

²³Most probably a direct response to the 'skeptical' wisdom school. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.145, Crenshaw, "The Problem of Theodicy," 52, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 74. Compare Ps 104:24-30.

²⁴The Heb text must be reconstructed at this point. Following Segal, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct* and RSV, we are reading "portions" (Gk- μερίδας, Heb rendered as חֲקִיָּה). R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906) and Skehan and DiLella follow the Syriac and translate as "tasks" (Heb rendered as חֲקִיָּה).

²⁵Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 74, J. G. Snaith, "Ben Sira's Supposed Love of Liturgy," *VT* 25 (1975) 167-74 and *Ecclesiasticus*, 85. "After this" (v 29) makes it clear that vv 27-28 refer to the heavens, see W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; Cambridge: CUP, 1912) 114.

Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 30, argues that Ben Sira is dependent upon the Stoic idea of a universal Reason in these verses and those which follow. However, his argument is reliant upon 17:5, which the majority of scholars agree is a late addition to the text. As J. Marböck, "Gesetz und Weisheit: Zum Verständnis des Gesetzes bei Jesus Sira," *BZ* 20 (1976) 138, and Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 73, point out, if Stoic principles are in any way present, they have been transformed by association with the imagery of the OT so that they are fully consonant with Ben Sira's overall conservatism.

²⁶The text of verse 29b is corrupt. As it stands in our Greek text, τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ seems to be a reference to the creation of vegetation upon the earth (Gen 1:11-12). However, Smend, 154-155, follows the

kinds of living beings" (16:30) corresponds to the animal life mentioned in Gen 1:20-25.

Ben Sira is closely and deliberately dependent on the text of Gen 1-3, which as we shall see, he begins to interpret with a nationalistic emphasis.

Wisdom and Paradise Tradition: Sir 17:1-10

As Ben Sira continues his retelling of the creation accounts with the story of the creation of humanity, his dependence upon Genesis remains evident.

Sir 17:1-17:4

1 God created man out of dust
And turned him back thereunto.
2 He granted him a fixed number of days
And gave him authority over all things on the earth.
3 He clothed them with strength like his own,
And made them according to his own image.
4 He put the fear of them upon all flesh,
And caused them to have power over beasts and birds.

1 Κύριος ἔκτισεν ἐκ γῆς ἄνθρωπον
καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν εἰς αὐτήν.
2 ἡμέρας ἀριθμοῦ καὶ καιρὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς.
3 καθ' ἑαυτὸν²⁷ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτοὺς ἰσχὺν
καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.
4 ἔθηκεν τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάσης σαρκὸς
καὶ κατακυριεύειν θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν.

Sir 17:1 is a combination of the beginning and the end of the second account of creation (Gen 2:7, 3:19).²⁸ To this is added in 17:2a a reference to Gen 6:3. These statements regarding human mortality are both drawn from judgment contexts (Gen 3:19 - the judgment after Adam's sin, Gen 6:3 - the judgment after the sin of the Watchers) but are used by Ben Sira as simple statements which emphasize human mortality.²⁹

Syriac and amends the text to "he blessed," which could either reflect the verdict of Genesis, "it was good," (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25), or refer to the blessing of the fish and fowl on the fifth day of creation (Gen 1:22). For a full discussion, see Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 75.

²⁷With Ziegler, Rahlfs, Smend, 155, and G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley, "Sirach," in *APOT* (2 vols.; ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 375 reading ἑαυτὸν in place of Gk ἑαυτοῦς.

²⁸The Hebrew אָדָם is rendered literally as "Adam" by the Syriac. See Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus* and Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 75.

²⁹As L. Alonso Schöckel, "The Vision of Man in Sirach 16:24-17:14," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J. Gammie, et al; New York: Scholars Press, 1978) 236 points out, the sequence we have come to expect is image of God, dominion over earth and sin-death. Ben Sira begins with mortality (through man's association with all earthly creatures, 16:30) and then moves to

Sir 17:2b-3 cites Gen 1:26-28, the creation of mankind in the image of God and the resulting authority given to humanity over the earth. As the planetary bodies are delegated to exercise dominion over the heavens (Sir 16:27/Gen 1:14-19), so humanity is delegated rule over what has been created upon the earth. The two clauses of 17:3 stand as a *parallelismus membrorum*. God clothing humanity "καθ' ἑαυτὸν ...ἰσχύον" is the equivalent of his creating humanity "κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ." The καὶ which connects the clauses is epexegetical, so we can paraphrase this verse, "The Creator clothed humanity with his own ἰσχύς, that is, he made them according to his image."³⁰ The strength of Yahweh is very often in the OT a reference to his "mighty acts" in the Exodus, his victory over the ruling earthly powers (Ex 9:16; 15:6; 32:11; Num 14:13; Deut 9:26, 29; 26:8).³¹ However, strength is also linked with wisdom, knowledge, and understanding (see Sir 9:14, 1 Sam 16:18, Jer 9:22, 10:12 and 51:15, Job 26:12, Dan 2:23, compare 1:4, WisSol 9:2, 10:1-2 with particular reference to Adam).³² Given the wisdom emphasis of 17:1-10, it is probable that Ben Sir has interpreted "image of God" in terms of sharing in divine wisdom. His selection of the word עֹז/ἰσχύς instead of saying directly "wisdom" or "understanding" could be the result of his literary desire to knit together various primeval anthropological statements. Gen 3:6 provides the possible play on words: עֹז "strength" for עוֹר "skin."³³

these other themes. Therefore, in this passage, human mortality is not associated with sin or judgment. It is the way humanity was created.

Sir 25:24 has long been interpreted as being the first mention of the beginning of sin and its consequences with reference to Eve. See Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 40-41, B. Malina, "Some Observations on the Origin of Sin in Judaism and St. Paul," *CBQ* 31 (1969) 24, F. R. Tennant, *Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* (Cambridge: CUP, 1903) 111-121, N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin* (London: Longmans, 1927) 54. Recently, this generally held position has been challenged with some success by J. Levison, "Is Eve to Blame? A Contextual Analysis of Sirach 25:24," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 617-623. As the context of the passage is not nationalistic, we will not take space here to enter into the debate. The one thing to note for our study is that if the traditional interpretation is correct, it shows that Ben Sira is well aware of a "Fall tradition" which he deliberately suppresses when he utilizes Gen 1-3 to enhance the election of Israel.

Sir 39:12-41:13 is similar in many ways to Sir 15:11-18:14 in that it praises God as creator and speaks of the frailty of humanity with specific reference to Gen 1-3. Sir 39:12-41:13 is covenantal but the context is not nationalistic, so we will not treat this passage with any detail.

³⁰Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 25.

³¹Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 25.

³²See A. Caquot, "Israelite Perceptions of Wisdom and Strength in the Light of the Ras Shamra Texts," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J. Gammie, et al; New York: Scholars Press, 1978) 25-33.

³³Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 76-77. Unfortunately, no Heb manuscripts exist for 16:27-18:14. We have referred to the reconstruction by Segal.

The endowment with divine strength/wisdom is thus the presupposition for the authority over the earth delegated to humanity by God described in 17:4, a citation of Gen 1:28 and 9:6 (compare Sir 17:2a).

Thus, in Sir 17:1-4, the writer has skillfully drawn out statements from the primeval narratives and woven them together in setting out the initial description of his anthropology.³⁴ In view of the larger question of theodicy, the description of mankind's sovereignty is to emphasize the orderliness of God's creation.³⁵ The description of humanity as being created in humbling circumstances (from dust, returning to dust after a limited life-span) yet being honoured because God has delegated to them the rulership of the earth simply reflects the understanding given by the Genesis traditions themselves. As we shall see, this general description of the creation of humanity is leading towards a specific description of Israel as elect nation.

In Sir 17:6-10, Ben Sira continues to expand upon the wisdom motifs already present in the text of Gen 2-3.³⁶

Sir 17:6-10³⁷

- | | |
|----|---|
| 6 | Discretion, with tongues and eyes and ears,
And an understanding heart he gave them. |
| 7 | With wisdom and knowledge he filled them;
Good and evil he showed them. |
| 8 | He put into their hearts the fear of him,
Showing them the grandeur of his works, |
| 9 | That they may glory in his wondrous deeds |
| 10 | And praise his holy name. |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 6 | διαβούλιον καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὀφθαλμούς
ὦτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκεν διανοεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς. |
| 7 | ἐπιστήμην συνέσεως ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. |

³⁴Reproduced here (with minor modification) is Sheppard's analysis comparing Sir 17:1-4 with Genesis traditions, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 78. See also Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 137.

1a - Gen 2:7
1b - Gen 3:19
2a - Gen 6:3
2b - Gen 1:26b, 28b
3a - Gen 3:21
3b - Gen 1:26a, 27a (9:6b)
4a - Gen 9:2
4b - Gen 1:28, 9:2

³⁵Crenshaw, "The Problem of Theodicy," 52.

³⁶See Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 87. 17:5 is seen by the vast majority of scholars to be a later Stoic addition.

³⁷ET follows Skehan and DiLella, but reading the verbs in the past tense with RSV.

While man is given senses and faculties for learning, the text emphasizes that wisdom, knowledge and understanding are all bestowed by the Creator himself. Understanding (ἐπιστήμην) is by endowment, not by deduction (a distinction which takes on it full importance in 17:11, where ἐπιστήμην is linked with "the Torah of life"). In contrast to Gen 2:17 and 3:5, 22, Ben Sira makes "good and evil" the very subject which God himself teaches humanity.³⁸ The positive reading of "good and evil," combined with the important wisdom terms "discretion and understanding" (17:6), "wisdom and knowledge" (17:7), and "the fear of the Lord" (17:8), establish the theme of divinely imparted wisdom in Ben Sira's reading of the creation narrative.³⁹ Ben Sira's emphasis in *this* passage is not focused upon rational ability⁴⁰ or rational relationship⁴¹ but upon revelation. Wisdom is not only simply "observed truths" but a revelatory gift from God. By interpreting Gen 2-3 in this manner, Ben Sira has prepared for the full identification of wisdom with Torah.

The Interrelating of Creation, Torah, and Election: Sir 17:11-14

Following the portrayal of Adam in Paradise, the text moves almost imperceptibly and without transition from a focus on Eden to a description of the theophany at Sinai and the giving of the Law (Sir 17:11-14).⁴²

³⁸Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille*, 73 denies that "good and evil" is a reference to Gen 2-3. He has proposed Deut 1:39 and Isa 7:15 to be the background to this phrase. Given the numerous allusions to Gen 1-3 in this section, and Ben Sira's freedom in transforming OT traditions, Maier's position cannot be sustained.

³⁹Sir 40:27 - "The fear of God is a very Eden of blessing." The fear of God is identified with wisdom in Sir 1:16, 19, 20, 21:11. P. Beentjes, "Full Wisdom is Fear of the Lord: Ben Sira 19:20-20:31 - Context, Composition and Concept," *Estudios Bíblicos* 47 (1989) 27-45 has demonstrated how 18:15-23:27 is made up of two sections which both equate wisdom and the fear of the Lord. Thus, these sections on the fear of the Lord link together the preceding section (Sir 15:11-18:4) and the following section (Sir 24), both which identify wisdom and Torah.

Fear of God is certainly a central theme in Ben Sira. It is referred to over 60 times. See Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach*, 82-105 and Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 12.

⁴⁰Contra Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 87.

⁴¹Contra G. Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972) 255-256.

⁴²See Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach*, 150-155.

Sir 17:11-14

- 11 He set knowledge/wisdom before them.
The law of life he gave them for heritage.
12 He made an everlasting covenant with them,
And showed them his judgments.
13 Their eyes beheld his glorious majesty,
And their ear[s] heard his glorious voice;
14 And he said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness
And he gave them commandment,
to each man concerning his neighbour.

- 11 προέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμην
καὶ νόμος ζωῆς ἐκληροδότησεν αὐτοῖς
12 διαθήκην αἰῶνος ἔστησεν μετ' αὐτῶν
καὶ τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς
13 μεγαλεῖον δόξης εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ δόξαν φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν τὸ οὖς αὐτῶν.
14 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Προσέχετε ἀπὸ παντός ἀδίκου
καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ περὶ τοῦ πλησίον.

The purpose of the wisdom emphasis in Ben Sira's reading of the creation narratives in 17:1-10 becomes evident. The two clauses in verse 11 are in a chiastic structure, indicating the identification of wisdom (ἐπιστήμη) with Torah (νόμον ζωῆς).⁴³ This parallelism occurs also in Sir 45:5, where Moses is said to receive the "νόμον ζωῆς καὶ ἐπιστήμης."⁴⁴ As Sheppard writes, "...in order to sustain the common nexus between wisdom as delivered to humanity in the garden, though chronologically at creation, and wisdom given as the Torah, though chronologically at Sinai, the writer merely juxtaposes the two themes together without a temporal transition."⁴⁵ Wisdom links together creation and covenant.⁴⁶ As mankind was the goal of creation, so Israel was the goal of the creation of mankind. Cosmos, earth, mankind, Israel all stand in the flow of the same creative activity, and each reflects the wisdom and order in the planning of God. *The promise of primeval history is fulfilled within the boundaries of covenantal life.*

⁴³So E. J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Traditional Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr, 1985) 70, Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.138-139, Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 31-32 and many others.

The nationalistic claims to wisdom are a new step in Israel's wisdom tradition. Specific reference to Israel in OT Wisdom literature is all but non-existent. See Rickenbacker, 159.

⁴⁴Note the similarities in the description between Sir 17:11-14 and Sir 45:1-5.

⁴⁵Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 82.

⁴⁶For the linking of creation and covenant in the OT, compare Isa 40:28, 42:5, 44:24, 45:12, 49:24-28, 51:9-10 and Ps 33, 136, 148. See R. Murphy, "Wisdom and Creation," *JBL* 104 (1985) 3-4 and Von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," 133ff, although (as we discussed earlier) Von Rad argues for the secondary nature of creation theology to the centre of Israel's theology.

When we compare Sir 17:1-10 (humanity in Paradise) with Sir 17:11-14 (Israel at Sinai), we find that Ben Sira was very deliberate in his association of Paradise and Sinai. The word of God which sustains cosmic order (16:28) also establishes social order in Israel (17:14, note the repetition of "neighbor" in both verses). In the garden, God fills humanity with ἐπιστήμην. At Sinai, God set before Israel ἐπιστήμην. As seen above in 17:11, ἐπιστήμην is identified with the νόμος ζωῆς. Certainly 17:7b and 17:12b show an intentional parallelism.

7b καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς.
12b καὶ τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς.

God teaches humanity "good and evil" in the Garden, and teaches Israel "his judgments" at Sinai. At creation, eyes and ears are given to humanity (17:6). Of Israel at Sinai, Ben Sira writes, "Their eyes beheld his glorious majesty, And their ears heard his glorious voice" (17:13). The knowledge, wisdom and understanding with which mankind is endowed (17:6-7) are given so that the gift of the Torah and Covenant at Sinai can be perceived and understood (17:11-12).⁴⁷ Much more is involved here than reflections upon mankind having been created with the capacity for moral choice, capable of Reason.⁴⁸ Humanity was created in the "image of God" to hear, learn, and respond to the Wisdom of God, the Wisdom which, having been present in Paradise, was again imparted from heaven to the people of God at Sinai. Ben Sira thus tied together the description of the attributes with which God has endowed man in the Creation with Israel's reception of and response to the Torah.

The overlap between creation and election is brought full circle in 17:17, a recapitulation of the opening verse of the poem but this time with Israel, not creation, as the subject.⁴⁹

⁴⁷If we are correct that Ben Sira associated "image of God" with "God's wisdom," then we have here in Sir 17:1-14 a specific reading of Gen 1:26 which nationalizes the concept of "image of God."

⁴⁸Contra Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 25, 26-27, who places Sir 17 in his "ethical-anthropological" category. The ethical-anthropological category of interpretation which Jervell names is one of the two streams of on-going Adam tradition, the other being the historical-speculative. Sections such as Sir 17 show the inherent weakness of studies such as Jervell's, which approach the study of Adam tradition from strict categories. The Adam tradition utilized in Sir 17 reflects the ethics of free-will, the ideas of the wisdom schools, as well as an emphasis on covenant and election.

⁴⁹This parallelism is certain in the Gk and reflects the most widely accepted Heb. reconstruction.

Sir 17:17

He appointed a ruler for every nation,
But Israel is the Lord's own portion (קִלְח/μερίς).

Sir 16:26

When God created his works from the beginning,
After making them he assigned them their portions (קִלְח/μερίδας).

The idea that God appointed angelic beings to rule over other nations is frequent in intertestamental literature. In contrast to this is God's direct rulership over Israel, his "own portion" (Deut 32:8-9). In a way similar to Sir 33:7-13, *Ben Sira portrays this ethnic distinction between Israel and the nations as an extension of the ordering of the cosmos.* Just like God in creation apportioned to each of his works responsibility over part of the whole, so in apportioning the nations, he has claimed Israel as his own portion.⁵⁰ The theme of the orderliness of creation has moved from the universal to the national: God's ordering of the heavens (16.24-28), his ordering of the earth (16.22-17.10) and the ordering of the nation of Israel.⁵¹

A call to repentance closes this section which emphasized the special election of Israel.

Sir 17:25-26

25 Return to the Lord, and give up sin,
Pray before him and make your offenses few.
26 Turn again to the Most High and away from sin,
Hate intensely what he loathes.

The call to repentance is not directed towards mankind in general but specifically towards Jewish apostates.⁵² Those who are addressed are called to "*return*," to "*turn again*." We should note that the section began with a charge to "act faithfully" and "keep the commandments" and thus choose life instead of death (15:15-20). God's justice is evident in the fact that he has created man with free will and gives him the opportunity to repent.⁵³

⁵⁰This idea occurs again in Sir 24:12, which we examine below. For creation as an act of apportioning (separating, dividing, assigning) in Sirach, see M. Tsevat, "קִלְח," *TDOT* 4.451.

⁵¹Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 136.

⁵²Contra Alonso Schöckel, "The Vision of Man in Sirach," 242-244.

⁵³Skehan and DiLella, 282. See 17.6a - διαβούλιον, "discretion," is the same Gk term used by the grandson to translate צָרָה.

Add to this the warning of Sir 41:8 and we see that much of the motive in the writing of Ben Sira is to call those who have forsaken the Law to repentance.⁵⁴

Sir 41:8

8 Woe to you, ungodly men,
 Who have forsaken the Law of the Most High God!
 9 When you are born, you are born to a curse;
 And when you die, a curse is your lot.

Writing in the decade before the encounter between Judaism and Hellenism would reach its confrontation point with the building of the gymnasium in Jerusalem and the rise to power of Jason and Menaleus, it seems that Ben Sira still saw a hope that the apostates would return to covenantal faithfulness. The section ends by contrasting the Creator God with the frailty of human beings, emphasizing the mercy of God shown to the humble. Thus he highlights the privilege of Israel and the Torah (to a large degree through association with creation themes) and then challenges apostates to return to the God who elected them.

3.3 Summary

Sir 15:11-20, 16:26-17:17 and 33:7-13 are clear examples of how Ben Sira interpreted the creation narratives of Gen 1-3 in a way which enabled him to argue from creation to election. His interpretation of the creation narratives prepared the way for his equation of wisdom with Torah and for his portrayal of Israel as fulfilling God's purpose in creating humanity. As God apportioned his creation, he apportioned humanity, claiming Israel as his own portion. As he arranged the cosmos in eternal order so that "no one thrusts aside its neighbour," he ordered Israelite life through an everlasting covenant, which gave "commandment to each man concerning his neighbor." As he gave Adam eyes, ears and understanding to receive wisdom, so it is said of Israel at Sinai "their eyes beheld his glorious majesty, their ears heard his glorious voice." As he gave Adam wisdom and

⁵⁴Ben Sira highlights honouring one's parents (3:3, 14-16) and almsgiving (29:12, 35:2) as forms of atonement. His interest in the cult and honour of the Torah would indicate his value of the entire sacrificial system prescribed by the Law, although he warns that acts of repentance must be accompanied by a change in action (7:8-9, 34:18-20). For complete studies in this area, see the extensive study of A. Büchler, "Ben Sira's Conception of Sin and Atonement," *JQR* 13 (1922-23) 303-35, 461-502, 14 (1923-24) 53-83 as well as Sanders, *PPJ*, 338-346.

knowledge and taught him good and evil, so he set knowledge before Israel and said to them "Beware of all unrighteousness."

In portraying Sinai as a re-enactment of Paradise, particularly as the place where wisdom is bestowed, Ben Sira establishes the unique claims of the elect people of God. Israel has been distinguished from the rest of humanity to be, by virtue of her reception of the gift of the Torah, what true humanity is intended to be. In the texts we have examined, creation imagery and theology have been adopted and adapted by Ben Sira to reinforce the boundaries and distinctives of the elect people of God.

4. Nationalistic and Particularistic Results of the Identification of Wisdom with Torah: Sir 24

Sir 24 lies at the centre of the book of Sirach for very specific reasons. In it, Ben Sira states his basic theme: Wisdom "is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the Law which Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob" (24:23). Wisdom, that which is most universal in its ordering of creation, history and society, is equated with that which is most particular to Israel, the Torah. Our study of this section will show the great degree to which the creation narratives and Paradise imagery are utilized to support this ethnocentric and nationalistic claim.

4.1 Wisdom in Creation and Election: Sir 24:1-8

In the opening paragraph of his work, the writer asserted that wisdom was "created before all things" (Sir 1:4). Now, in Sir 24, wisdom is personified as singing her own praises and proclaiming her glory before her people (Israel, 24:1) and the council of God (24:2).⁵⁵ Her poem concerns her origin, past activities, and ongoing function. Her speech begins in verse 3 with immediately identifying herself with the creative activity of God spoken of in Gen 1 and 2.

⁵⁵Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 58. The entire question of whether Wisdom is a hypostatis/intermediary or a poetic personification of divine imminence is far too wide ranging to address at this point. We are following, among others, Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 129-130 and Dunn, *Christology*, 170-172 in understanding Wisdom in Ben Sira to be a personification.

ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος ὑψίστου ἐξῆλθον
καὶ ὡς ὀμίχλη κατεκάλυψα γῆν

I came forth from the mouth of the Most High,
and as a dark cloud I covered the earth.

More than just asserting her divine origin, the first clause of 24:3 equates wisdom with the word of God which initiated the process of creation (Gen 1:3).⁵⁶ The second clause recalls both Genesis 1:2 and 2:6. Behind the Greek ὀμίχλη most probably lies the Hebrew ערפל, "cloudy darkness, dark cloud."⁵⁷ It is likely that Ben Sira selected this word because of its dual associations with חושך "darkness" in Gen 1:2 and with נֶחֱלֶמֶת "cloud, rain-cloud, dark cloud" in Gen 2:6.⁵⁸

Three elements common to Gen 1:2 and 2:6 are all attributes which Ben Sira wishes to ascribe to wisdom.⁵⁹ First, the references to the "darkness" of Gen 1:2 and the "dark cloud" of Gen 2:6 stand at the beginning of their respective creation narratives and are the initial references to activity in their creation accounts. Secondly, the very ambiguity of the meaning of both "darkness" and "dark cloud" leave an openness to speculation as to whether they were themselves active and included in God's creative process. Thirdly, the imagery of both verses could be interpreted as expressing "cosmic dominion": "upon the whole surface" is used in both Gen 1:2 (עַל פְּנֵי) and 2:6 (כָּל פְּנֵי) to describe the area of the activity of the "darkness" and the "dark cloud." In identifying wisdom with the darkness of Gen 1:2 and the cloud of Gen 2:6, Ben Sira has attempted to establish the role of wisdom in creation: created before the world, she was included in initiating and cooperating in the creation of the entire cosmos and is ruler over all creation.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 160. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 59 understands the background to be passages such as Ps 147:16-19, Isa 45:23, 48:3, 55:11, where God's word is active in both establishing creation and determining Israel's history.

⁵⁷Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 23. The Hebrew text must be reconstructed for Sir 24. For a retroversion of the Heb of Sir 24, see P. Skehan, "Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 374 and Segal.

⁵⁸Although נֶחֱלֶמֶת is translated in the LXX as πηγή "stream, spring/source" in Gen 2:6, in Job 36:27 it is translated νεφέλη "cloud." Both Targum Onkelos and the Palestinian Targum translate it ענן, "cloud." See Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 160 n. 19 and Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 23-25 who presents detailed arguments to support this grammatical understanding.

⁵⁹The interpretation of Sir 24:3 closely follows the work of Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 25-26.

⁶⁰Many scholars have written concerning the relationship between Ben Sira and Proverbs 8. See for instance Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, 3-21, Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 78-85 and E. G. Bauckmann, "Die Proverbien und die Sprüche des Jesus Sirach," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 33-63. Though

The idea of cosmic dominion is drawn out in Ben Sira 24:4-6.⁶¹

Sir 24:4-6

- 4 I dwelt in high places, and my throne was in a pillar of cloud.
 5 Alone I have made the circuit of the vault of heaven
 and have walked in the depths of the abyss.
 6 In the waves of the sea, in the whole earth,
 and in every people and nation I have gotten a possession.

The boundaries of Wisdom's domain (throne) were marked off when she "walked round" the entire cosmos, a formal symbol that seals a legal claim to possession of territory.⁶² Her claim is exclusive ("Alone I have made...") and universal (Sir 24:5-6). Her activity and authority have no ethnic or national boundaries. Her creative role and cosmic rule parallel the universal kingship of Yahweh over his creation.⁶³ Thus, the first step in Ben Sira's argument which will culminate in reaffirming the election of Israel is to establish in the broadest terms the universality of wisdom.

However, a closer look at the images used to express Wisdom's cosmic dominion reveals that the imagery used parallels key traditions about Israel's salvation history. As in patriarchal tradition Abraham was instructed to "walk through the length and the breadth of the land" (Gen 13:17) to establish the boundaries of the land promised him, we noted above that wisdom also performed a similar legal act in establishing her claim to the entire cosmos

specific opinions are diverse as to details of the relationship, the general consensus is that Ben Sira was consciously standing in the position of a successor to the tradition recorded in Proverbs. Sir 24, in particular, shows dependence and continuity with Prov 8-9. See J. A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit: An Investigation of 1 Cor 1:18-3:20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Tradition in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984) 152, R. A. F. Mackenzie, *Sirach* (Old Testament Message 19; Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983) 101, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 22.

H. Conzelmann, "The Mother of Wisdom," in *The Future of our Religious Past* (ed. J. Robinson; NY: Harper and Row, 1971), has attempted to argue that Sir 24 is an almost unretouched Isis hymn adapted by Ben Sira. However, Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, 45-50, has responded to Conzelmann point by point and has shown that the hymn consistently reflects existing Israelite traditions, particularly Prov 8.
⁶¹Smend, 216-17.

⁶²Gen 13:17, the instruction to Abraham. Also Joshua 1:3. See Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 160. D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (Cambridge: CUP, 1947) 37-39, illustrates the various symbols employed to illustrate the acquisition of property. He points to the "walking about" of Abraham, as well as Gen 28:13, where Jacob lies down on the ground, as signs of ownership. "These expressions, whether or not recognized officially by Heb Law, existed in popular legal thought, practised in the everyday life of Israel. They would be introduced as having legal effect in saga and legend." Sir 24:5-6 seems also to contain echoes of Job 9:8, 22:14, 38:16, passages which describe God's traversing of the universe. Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 36-39 argues for direct literary dependence on Job, and against a borrowing of the language of Isis aretologies.

⁶³Schnabel, 17, writes, wisdom's rule "is clearly the expression of its divine function: in the activity and rule of wisdom God himself rules and is active." Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 62, notes that statements of universal omnipotence are made only with reference to God in the OT.

(24:5). In verses 4-6, Exodus tradition underpins the text. Wisdom's trek is described in the terminology of the sacred wilderness traditions. She "encamped/dwelt" in the high places, enthroned in the "pillar of cloud."⁶⁴ Like Israel, she goes through the depths of the sea, seeking a permanent lodging place. The description of wisdom in Sir 24:1-6 establishes a unity between creation and the salvation history of Israel.⁶⁵

By his selection of imagery, Ben Sira has prepared the way to move from the universal description of Wisdom to his theme of Israel's election. The central element of Israel's election is her being designated as the home of wisdom.

Sir 24:7-8⁶⁶

7 Among all these [nations] I sought a resting place (ἀνάπαυσιν);
I sought in whose territory (inheritance - κληρονομία) I might lodge.
8 Then the Creator of all things gave me a commandment,
And the one who created me assigned a place for my tent.
And he said, "Make your dwelling in Jacob,
and in Israel receive your inheritance."

8 τότε ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ κτίστης πάντων,
καὶ ὁ κτίσας με κατέπαυσεν τὴν σκηνὴν μου
καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν Ἰακώβ κατασκήνωσον
καὶ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ κατακληρονομήθῃτι.

Wisdom's search for her resting place and inheritance comes to a conclusion by the Creator's instruction and decree. She is to dwell in Jacob (24:8). With this statement, the transition from the cosmic and universal to the particular and ethnocentric begins. We should note two things in particular in this passage. First, Israel's election is due to God's election of her as wisdom's home. Thus, the claim that universal wisdom dwells in Israel is a primary way Ben Sira affirms Israel's unique identity in history and among the nations. Secondly, even as Ben Sira is in the midst of establishing this particularistic claim, he employs universal language in reference to God: God is the creator of "all things" and the

⁶⁴See Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 27-32, who argues that κατασκήνωσα may likely reflect the Hebrew נָחַם, the technical term in Numbers regularly used to indicate Israel's temporary lodgings at various points in the wilderness journey. See Num 33:1. This is supported by the phrase in the Syriac version, "pitches her tent."

Both throne and cloud, in this case either the pillar of cloud that accompanied Israel in the wilderness or the cloud of incense and smoke in Israel's worship, are well-known theophanic images. Thus, as with the Genesis material seen above, the ambiguous symbols of the Exodus tradition that are either directly associated or closely associated with God are clarified by Ben Sira to be references to divine Wisdom.

⁶⁵Marbock, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 131: Wisdom is active in history throughout Ben Sira. See in addition to Sir 24, Sir 1:9-10, 17:6-9, 43:33.

⁶⁶RSV.

creator of "Wisdom" (Sir 24:8). As we noted earlier, Sir 24 is an example among Ben Sira's discourses which move from creation to election, from the universal to the particular.

Alongside the reflection of Exodus tradition in Wisdom's search for a resting place, we should note at the same time that such a quest is also a part of Zion tradition, in which Yahweh, symbolized by the ark, searched for a resting place.

Ps 132:8-14

- 8 Arise, O LORD, and go to thy resting place,
Thou and the ark of thy might...
13 For the LORD has chosen Zion;
He has desired it for his habitation:
14 "This is my resting place for ever,
here I will dwell, for I have desired it."

The election of Zion by Yahweh as the place of his presence is central to much of the theology of the OT and becomes increasingly evident in Sir 24 through the association of wisdom and cult.⁶⁷

4.2 Wisdom in Zion: Sir 24:9-12

Having described the process by which Israel was elected to be the home of wisdom, Ben Sira portrays her ongoing activity among the people of God.

Sir 24:9-12

- 9 He created me from the beginning, before the world,
and unto eternity I shall not cease:
10 In the holy tent I ministered before him,
and thus in Zion I was established.
11 In a city beloved as me I rested,
and in Jerusalem was my authority,
12 I took root among an honoured people
and in the portion of the Lord, his inheritance.⁶⁸

12 καὶ ἐρρίζωσα ἐν λαῷ δεδοξασμένῳ.
ἐν μερίδι κυρίου, κληρονομία αὐτοῦ.

Again, he begins by first referring to the universal then moving to the particular. Wisdom was created before all things and shall exist forever. But the locative ἐν (ב) employed in each of the six phrases in Sir 24:10-12 (as it was twice in 24:8) makes it precisely clear where universal wisdom is currently to be found. Wisdom's resting place is in Zion. Note

⁶⁷See Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 159-162.

⁶⁸Translation by Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 45-47. See Deut 12:5-14 for the promise of "rest, inheritance and abode."

the references to Zion as "a city *as beloved as me*" and the descriptions of Israel as "an honoured people," "the portion of the Lord," "his inheritance." As we noted previously in 17:17, the phrase "the portion of the Lord (24:12)" is a key expression used in Ben Sira to describe Israel's special identity among the nations (also 44:2). Both of the central ideas of Zion theology, the cult (v 10) and kingship (v 11), are identified as expressions of divine Wisdom. Thus Ben Sira has recorded the cosmic biography of Wisdom, from her divine origin and activity in the creation of the world, through identification with the election and salvation history of Israel, to final expression in the cult and kingship in Jerusalem. In doing so, he has skillfully woven together creation tradition (Gen 1-3), Exodus tradition and Zion tradition.

4.3 Zion as an Experience of Eden: Sir 24:13-22

The movement of wisdom from the universal to the particular began with a rereading of the creation narratives. To further illustrate his point, Ben Sira returns to Paradise imagery, developing the imagery of "planting" began in 24:12 by picturing Wisdom in terms of the Garden of Paradise.⁶⁹ The imagery of Gen 2:6, "And out of the ground the LORD God made to grow every tree..." is applied by Ben Sira in reference to Wisdom's lush growth in Jerusalem (cf. Eze 31:2b-9).

Sir 24:13-16

- 13 I was exalted like a cedar in Lebanon
and like an olive tree on Mount Hermon.
14 I was exalted like a palm tree in Engedi
and as the rose bushes in Jericho
as a fair olive tree on the plain
and I was exalted as a plane tree by the waters.
15 As cinnamon and asphalthus of perfumes
and as choice myrrh I put forth a pleasant scent.
As galbanum, onyx and stacte,
I was as the smoke of incense in the tent sanctuary.
16 I spread my branches like a terebinth,
and my branches were branches of glory and grace.
I am like a grape vine putting forth lovely shoots,
and my flowers are the fruit of glory and wealth.

⁶⁹In 24:12, Wisdom says that she "took root" in Israel, paralleling the many OT traditions of "planting" or "rooting" associated with Israel's dwelling in the land of promise. See Ex 15:17 and 2 Sam 7:10-11.

"The city of Jerusalem has been painted as a wonderland of Wisdom, a restoration of the garden of Eden."⁷⁰ Some scholars have seen in these verses specific reference to the Tree of Life, such as occurs in Prov 3:16,18.⁷¹ Elsewhere in Sirach, Wisdom is described by the metaphor of a tree whose branches give life (1:20) and which protects from the heat (14:26). While the analogy between wisdom and the Tree of Life cannot be made conclusively in these verses, the general imagery of the section is clear: those who partake of Wisdom enjoy the sustenance of the Garden of Paradise.

The botanical references also serve to sketch a visual geographic image by describing the terrain of Palestine. Hermon and Lebanon (v 13) are in the north, Engedi and Jericho (v 14) are in the south, the coastal plain (v 14) is in the west and "the waters" (v 14) of the Jordan are found in the east.⁷² At the centre of the picture stands the Temple in Jerusalem, described in a way which associates wisdom and the cult.

Wisdom's dwelling in the temple and her service there is certainly the high point of the idea of her "dwelling in Jacob."⁷³ In 24:10, Wisdom described her dwelling in Israel in terms of the function of the high priest: "in the holy tent I ministered before him." One line of interpretation which is certainly valid in terms of the overall theme of the chapter is that wisdom's association with the cult is a manifestation of her association with the Torah.

"The worship of the Tabernacle was the carrying out of the Law, so that, as personified,

⁷⁰Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 52.

⁷¹See Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 74, and P. E. Bonnard, *La Sagesse en Personne annoncée et venue: Jésus Christ* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966) 73-74. Bonnard points out the association of cedars with the Garden of Eden in Eze 31:3-9. See also H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: Ohlsson, 1947) 137-141, who notes that a tree or vine with life-giving or extending qualities is an important image in many religions of the Ancient Near East. He writes on 141 regarding Wisdom as the Tree of Life in Prov and Sirach, "Some of the symbols are rather faded, but there is evidence enough to prove the relationship of Wisdom to the tree of life."

For an analysis of the tree imagery of Sir 24:10-17 against its OT background, see A. Fournier-Bidoz, "L'arbre et la demeure: Siracide XXIV 10-17," *VT* 34 (1984) 1-10. For the ANE background to tree of life imagery, see B. Reicke, "The Knowledge Hidden in the Tree of Paradise," *JSS* 1 (1956) 193-201 and R. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the OT," *JBL* 76 (1957) 123-138. B. S. Childs, "Tree of Knowledge; Tree of Life," *IDB* 4 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) 695-697 notes that "life" understood as a material substance that can be possessed by eating is a widely spread notion belonging to the oldest mythologies of the Ancient Near East. Compare Prov 11:30, 13:12, 15:4, where specific types of obedience to Wisdom results in a Tree of Life. See also Eze 47:12/Rev 22:2, 1 En 24:4ff, 2 En 8:3f.

⁷²Mackenzie, *Sirach*, 101.

⁷³See H. Gese "Wisdom, Son of Man, and the Origins of Christology: The Consistent Development of Biblical Theology," *HBT* 3 (1981) 35, Schnabel, 23, and Stadelmann, 51-53.

Wisdom could be said to minister before God."⁷⁴ But 24:15 goes further than this identification of wisdom and Torah. Here wisdom is described as the spices which make up the anointing oil (Ex 30:22ff) and the incense offering (Ex 30:34ff) used by the high priest, both symbols of the divine presence in the cult.⁷⁵ Wisdom is equated with the immanence of God in Israel's cult.

The occurrence of this central claim of Zion theology (divine immanence) in conjunction with extended Paradise imagery is consistent with the Zion tradition contained in the OT and which we examined earlier. The experience of the worshipper in the sacred space of Zion being akin to entering into Paradise may be further recollected in the invitation extended by wisdom in 24:19-22, "Come to me...and eat your fill of my produce." While this image of worship as a feast is found in certain Zion Psalms (for instance, Ps 38:7-9, discussed above), Sir 24:19-22 is very possibly a restatement of Gen 2:16, "And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden..."

4.4 Wisdom and Torah: Sir 24:23

At this point, the chapter makes explicit all that has been implied in the description of wisdom up to this point.

Sir 24

23 All these things are the book of the covenant of God Most High,
The Torah which Moses commanded us
[as a] possession/heritage in the assemblies of Jacob.

23 ταῦτα πάντα βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου
νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς
κληρονομίαν συναγωγᾶς Ἰακωβ

The words ταῦτα πάντα indicate that what follows serves as a summary and explanation of the entire preceding section of the Wisdom hymn.⁷⁶ It is significant that this is the only section of the Wisdom hymn which neither employs descriptive simile, (comparing Wisdom

⁷⁴Box and Oesterly, *APOT*, 1.397

⁷⁵For much greater detail, see Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 55-61 and Schnabel, 23-24. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 74 notes that wisdom turns the entire land into a sanctuary.

Compare 1 En 26, where the righteous partake of the Tree of Life and enter the Temple like a fragrant incense offering.

⁷⁶Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.103 n. 348, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 61.

to being "like" or "as" something), nor links Wisdom to a historical action. The hymn here moves from metaphorical and historical images to precise definition, from association to identification. All previous imagery was intended to point towards this equation between wisdom and Torah. Wisdom is Torah, the book of the covenant between Israel and Yahweh.⁷⁷

Through its identification with wisdom, Torah acquires a cosmic and universal role, not only regulating human behavior, but active in creating and sustaining both cosmic order and salvation history.⁷⁸ Because Israel is the dwelling place of Torah/Wisdom and the chief beneficiary of her rule, Exodus/Sinai becomes the high point of creation, and salvation history the fundamental purpose of world history. *The universal aspect of the Torah does not do away with the particularism of Israel. Rather, it heightens it by making the particular have universal significance.* In the same way that the idea of the cosmic mountain in Zion theology declared that Zion was the centre of the world, the meeting place between God and man, and the place where Paradise could be experienced, so Ben Sira's identification of Wisdom as Torah gave to Israel's identity the same prominence in cosmic order. In a period in which the traditional understanding of the election of Israel was deeply challenged, Ben Sira's associating of creation tradition with Torah by means of equating Torah with wisdom was an important way in which the ethnic identity of the people of God was reasserted.

⁷⁷Contra Rickenbacker, *Weisheitsperikopen*, 166f, who claims that Israel is never the object of covenant in Sirach. Rickenbacker's thesis that covenant is directed only towards humanity, the patriarchs and David ignores the link between Covenant and Law throughout Sirach. See Schnabel, 72.

Schnabel, 62, writes: "The terms תורה/νόμος and מצוה/ἐντολαί refer, in the vast majority of the passages, specifically to the Mosaic Torah." Similarly, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.138-139 ("tora is no longer instruction in general but as a rule the particular tora of Moses,") and Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, 24-26. On the issue of Stoic concepts involved in Ben Sira's portrayal of wisdom and Law, Schnabel's criticisms are addressed particularly towards J. Marböck, "Gesetz und Weisheit." For a complete review and critique of previous discussions of the identification of Wisdom and Torah, see Schnabel, 10-15.

G. Sheppard, "Wisdom and Torah, The Interpretation of Deuteronomy Underlying Sirach 24:23," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies* (LaSor FS; ed. G. A. Tuttle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 166-176 has shown that the book of Deuteronomy has influenced Ben Sira in his description of Wisdom as Torah in 24:23.

For the importance of the written Torah for Ben Sira, see Schnabel, 31-42 and H. M. Orlinsky, "Some Terms in the Prologue to Ben Sira and the Hebrew Canon," *JBL* 110 (1991) 483-490.

⁷⁸Against those who have argued that the cosmic dimension of the Torah led to its identification with cosmic wisdom (e.g. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 89-94, and "Gesetz," 6-13), our study adds agreement to the conclusion of Schnabel, 80, "The apparent universalistic dimension of the Torah in Ben Sira should be regarded as the *result*, rather than the cause, of the identification of law and wisdom."

Conversely, when wisdom is linked with Torah, the book of Israel's covenant with Yahweh, the result is that what was universal in scope now takes on very specific and particularized expression. In Sir 24, the aspect of Torah most specifically emphasized is not the ethical commands regarding one's neighbor (as in 17:14), but the cultic expressions of covenant (24:10-17).⁷⁹ Wisdom fulfils a priestly role, ministering in the sacred tent. Wisdom "is the divine *shekinah* on Zion ... i.e. the cult which, as revelation on Sinai, forms the centre of the Torah."⁸⁰ Wisdom is the cloud of incense in the Holy Place, made up of the spices of the Garden of Paradise. Cosmic wisdom manifests herself in the Temple cult. The cloud that hovered over creation, and the cloud that served as the protecting pillar of the Exodus, is the cloud of the Divine presence in Israel's worship. Thus wisdom, when identified with Torah, serves as the bridge which unites creation with salvation history, and further, unites creation and salvation history with the Temple cult. By establishing the cult as one of the primary expressions of the Wisdom which dwells in Israel, Ben Sira both heightens the importance of the cult and gives Wisdom its most particularistic context.

The equation of Wisdom with the Torah has long been noted by most scholars as Ben Sira's most unique contribution to the Wisdom schools. Using creation imagery and references to the creation story, Ben Sira has answered two key questions about wisdom with fully ethnocentric conclusions. Where is wisdom? Wisdom resides in the Temple on Zion. What is wisdom? Wisdom is Torah, the book of the covenant between Israel and God.⁸¹

⁷⁹Certainly, the ethical commands of Torah are important to Ben Sira. In fact, in Sir 31:21[34:18]-32:20[35:20], a long section dealing with the cult, the abuse of the cult is addressed (31:21-31[34:18-26]), followed by a portrayal of ethical behavior as "spiritual sacrifice" (32:1-7[35:1-7]). However, the cult is not replaced by ethical conduct or inner attitude, for the righteous are portrayed as faithful in their cultic offerings (32:8-11[35:8-11]). For a complete survey of wisdom and cult, see Schnabel, 23-24.

For the Torah as the regulator and rule of the cult, see Schnabel, 51-52.

⁸⁰Gese, "Wisdom," 34.

⁸¹See D. Harrington, "The Scribe According to Ben Sira," in *Ideal Figures in Judaism* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) 182.

4.5 Concluding Associations of Torah and Paradise: Sir 24:25-31

Having stated clearly the equation of Wisdom with Torah, Ben Sira moves towards the conclusion of his poem with two final references to Paradise. The first is in vv 25-27.

Sir 24:25-27

- 25 Which [the Torah] is full of Wisdom like the Pison
and like the Tigris at the time of first fruits,
26 which overflows like the Euphrates with insight
and as the Jordan at harvest time.
27 Which makes instruction flow like the Nile
and as Gihon at the time of vintage.

The Torah is compared with the rivers of Paradise (Gen 2:10-14), plus the two most important rivers of the Near East.⁸² The Pison is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT, thus clearly signaling that we have here a reference to Genesis 2. The inclusion of the two additional rivers, the Jordan and the Nile, which are strategically linked with the Euphrates in the middle of the list, is meant to recall the traditional boundaries of the Land promised to Abraham (Gen 15:18; Deut 1:6-8).⁸³ If Marböck is correct in associating the waters of Paradise with eschatological texts in the OT which use similar river imagery (Eze 47, Joel 4:18, Zech 14:8),⁸⁴ then Ben Sira may be inferring with this imagery that the blessing of the eschatological age is available in the present through the Torah. As with the description of the Garden of Paradise above, reference to the rivers of Paradise fuse together Eden and Israel by the mingling of creation and election tradition. It is in Israel, because of the inheritance of the Torah, that Wisdom overflows its banks and brings forth the life of Paradise. Ben Sira will conclude the entire poem by comparing himself to an ever-widening river (vv 30-31).

⁸²By placing the Pison and Gihon at the beginning and the end of the list, Ben Sira includes the two additional rivers in the list of rivers in Paradise. Sheppard *Hermeneutical Construct*, 69. See also J. Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the OT* (Oxford: OUP, 1983) 144 for understanding the reference to the rivers in this section as a midrash on Gen 2:10-14.

See Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 141 for the association of Wisdom with water/water of life in the ANE. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 109-110 surveys this theme in Ben Sira.

⁸³See Mackenzie, *Sirach*, 103, Stadelmann, 251, Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 70.

⁸⁴Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 78. Compare Ps 36:9, 46:5 as well as the general salvific symbolism of water in Isa 12:3, 41:18, Jer 31:12.

The second concluding reference to Paradise tradition is in vv 28-29.

Sir 24:28-29

28 The first man did not know her perfectly,
the last one has not fathomed her;
29 for her thought is more abundant than the sea,
and her counsel deeper than the great abyss.

In the context of the references to the Garden and Genesis 2 throughout Sir 24, the first man mentioned in Sir 24:28 is certainly Adam. It is possible that this imperfect knowledge of Wisdom by Adam is Ben Sira's interpretation of the prohibition of Gen 2:15-17, although this cannot be said conclusively. Certainly the emphasis in this passage is not on the inability of Adam but on the unfathomability of wisdom even by the first man, the one who was above all in glory (49:16). As Sheppard writes:

Even as the 'first man,' Adam, obtained Wisdom in the garden and could not master her, the same applies to 'the last [man]' who meets her again in the form of the Torah in the Promised Land. Hence, the glorification of Palestine as Eden, based on the unique presence of wisdom within it, finds its justification in a wisdom interpretation of the Genesis narratives.⁸⁵

4.6 Summary

The use of Paradise imagery throughout Sir 24 reveals the deep acquaintance of Ben Sira with the Zion tradition of the OT which describes the Temple as the sacred space of Paradise. In Sir 24, we therefore have evidence of both of the major sources of creation tradition in the OT: the narratives of Gen 1-3 and Zion theology. In Sirach, Zion theology retains its strong nationalistic viewpoint. What we should take careful note of is how the narratives of Gen 1-3 were now also interpreted from a similar nationalistic framework. Ben Sira utilized both streams of creation tradition in the OT to enhance the national identity of Israel as the elect people of God.

Ben Sira introduces the figure of Wisdom into both these creation traditions. He extended the definition of wisdom by rooting it in creation and primal time, and after taking wisdom to its most universalistic breadth, he then establishes it in a most particularistic

⁸⁵Sheppard, *Hermeneutical Construct*, 71. We note a consistency in the way Sirach treats Gen 2. He begins with the image of the dark cloud, 2:6-7, relates Wisdom to the Garden in 2:9, and finally relates Wisdom to the rivers of Paradise 2:10-14. He closes with a reference to the first man's inability to comprehend wisdom, perhaps his understanding of 2:15-17.

dimension: the election of Israel.⁸⁶ *Creation takes wisdom to its most universal application, election takes wisdom to its most ethnocentric implication.* As we shall continue to see in our study of Ben Sira, creation becomes a stepping stone to establishing Israel's unique status as the people of God.

In conclusion, we note that in a number of ways the identification of Wisdom with Torah has resulted in a nationalistic or particularistic reinterpretation of creation tradition.

1)The first feature we observed was the reinterpreting of the creation narratives in such a way as to allow for Wisdom to be involved both in creation and in Paradise.

2)Having associated Wisdom with creation, Ben Sira then associates Wisdom with the central historical traditions of Israel: the promise of Land to Abraham, the Exodus and Wilderness journey, and Zion theology. Wisdom is depicted as the guiding force in salvation history, particularly the election of the Land and Zion by God as his dwelling place. By reading the role of Wisdom first into creation and then into the Exodus and the establishment of Zion, Ben Sira establishes a firm link between creation and election.

3)Wisdom is equated with Torah. Ben Sira first expands the definition of Wisdom to its most universal dimension by associating it with creation, then narrows it to its most exclusive manifestation by equating it with Israel's covenant. This gives to Torah a universal dimension and to Wisdom an ethnocentric location.

4)Wisdom is identified with Israel's cult, thus elevating the stature and importance of the cult.

5)Wisdom also is introduced into the creation tradition of Zion theology. Wisdom's presence in Jerusalem turns Palestine into Paradise. The plants of the Garden of Eden and the Rivers of Eden receive a wisdom interpretation that reinforces this picture of the result of Wisdom's glorious presence in Israel. Those who have access to the Torah have access to the life of Paradise.

⁸⁶Marböck, "Gesetz und Weisheit," 13.

6) Because Ben Sira so carefully associated Wisdom with creation and with salvation history, the identification of Torah with Wisdom results in Torah being present at creation, and participating in ongoing history.

7) When Torah takes on universal significance by being identified with Wisdom, the particularism of Israel, the inheritance and inheritors of the Torah, is underscored.

5. The Glory of God in Creation, Covenant and Cult.

Sir 42:15-50:24

A third major section of Ben Sira which uses creation imagery to establish Israel's identity as the people of God is the poem on the glory of God. This poem or hymn extends from 42:15-50:24 and deals with the revelation of divine glory in creation, history and cult. Two larger sections can be delineated, the creation hymn (42:15-43:33), and the praise of the Fathers (44-50). The Praise of the Fathers itself has two distinct sections, the recollection of great biblical figures (44-49) and the conclusion to the entire poem, the praise of Simon II (50), who was high priest from 219 to 196 B.C.E. Various words for glory and splendor (כבוד, הדר, תפארת, הוד, תאֵר, all usually translated in the Gk as δόξα) are employed by Ben Sira throughout this extended section.⁸⁷ We will examine how Ben Sira utilized the theme of the glory of creation and of primal time to enhance his portrayal of the priestly cult, and thus in turn, to enhance Israel's status in the world.

⁸⁷As will be discussed below, the כבוד/ δόξα of Yahweh, revealed in his works in creation (42:16) is also expressed in the Fathers, of whom it is said, "great glory (כבוד רב/πολλήν δόξαν) did the Most High apportion [to them]."

The idea that the creation hymn is an introduction to the Praise of the Fathers was developed by J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 148-50. He based his argument on what he believed to be occurrences of the word כבוד throughout both sections. Marböck's treatment of כבוד (almost as a technical term) has made his finding vulnerable to criticism, especially as the Masada text has shown that in two of his references, 42:25 and 43:1, the word translated δόξα is הדר, not כבוד. This has led scholars such as T. R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 4-6, to argue against the direct connection made by Marböck between the creation hymn and the "Praise of the Fathers." However, when it is seen that Ben Sira employs a handful of terms that convey the idea of glory/beauty/splendour, the connection between the two sections becomes clear. The theme is not contained in a single term but is carried by a number of similar terms. For the use of כבוד in Ben Sira, see also Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 46-48.

5.1 The Glory of God in Creation: Sir 42:15-43:33

The creation hymn begins with a statement of theme.

Sir 42:15-17⁸⁸

- 15 Now will I recall God's works;
 what I have seen, I will repeat.
 Through the LORD's word came his works;
 he accepts the one who does his will.
- 16 As the shining sun is clear to all,
 so the glory⁸⁹ of the LORD fills his works;
- 17 Yet even God's holy ones must fail
 in recounting all his wonders,
 Though the LORD has given his hosts the strength
 to stand firm before his glory.⁹⁰
- 22 How beautiful are all his works...
- 25 ...can one ever see enough of their splendor?⁹¹

The works of creation are infused with the Creator's glory. The celestial host that dwell with God, perhaps identified with the celestial lights, are unable to manifest sufficiently praises for God, and can only "endure before his glory" because he has enabled them to do so. The term כבוד indicates the transcendent splendour of God (v 17) as well as the revelation of this splendour in creation (v 25) which leads to honour and reputation (v 16). Having opened by pointing to the glory of the Creator, the hymn closes with the command "Lift up your voices to glorify the LORD" (42:30). Thus the meaning of "glory" in this section refers both to the splendour of the individual as well as the praise or honor (glorifying) which is given in response to seeing this splendour. This two-fold emphasis on glory is seen throughout 42:15-50:24.

The poem goes on to describe God's glory in the heavens (43.1),⁹² the moon (43.6-9),⁹³ and the rainbow (43.11-12).⁹⁴ Creation reflects the glory and splendour of God.

⁸⁸ET by Skehan and DiLella.

⁸⁹Mas-בֹּד, MS B-כְּבוֹד, Gk-δόξα.

⁹⁰Mas & MS B-כְּבוֹד, Gk-δόξα.

⁹¹Gk- δόξα, Mas-הוֹדָה, splendour. See Skehan and DiLella, 488 and 492.

⁹²הִדְרָה - MS B. The Gk reads in reference to the firmament, "the appearance of heaven in a spectacle of glory (δόξα). Mas is damaged at this point, but the verse is restored by Yadin, *Ben Sira Scroll*, to agree with MS B.

⁹³Mas-וְהוֹדָה, MS B-וְהִדְרָה, Gk-δόξα. It seems likely that the calendrical disputes within Judaism, evident in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and in the DSS, may have also influenced this passage.

⁹⁴43.11: Mas - text ruined. MS B marg reads בְּכָבוֹד followed by Cowley-Neubauer, Smend and Yadin, *Ben Sira Scroll*. MS Btext reads נֶאֱדָרָה. 43.12: Mas & MS Btext בְּכָבוֹד, MS Bmarg בְּכָבוֹדוֹ.

Thus, the glory seen in creation results in giving glory to God. Creation points back to its Creator. As Ben Sira summarizes, "He is the all... For he is greater than all his works" (Sir 43:27b, 28b).

5.2 The Praise of the Fathers: Sir 44-49

Looking back to the opening of the creation hymn, we should note that although the introduction and conclusion of this opening section make reference to the glory of God (42:15-16, 22-25), each line of the body of the text (42:18-21) praises the wisdom of God which orders creation.⁹⁵ This close association of glory and wisdom certainly points ahead to the Praise of the Fathers. This is clearly seen in the closing line of the creation hymn and the opening line of the Praise of the Fathers.

Sir 43:33-44:2

43:33 It is the LORD who has made all things,
and to those who fear him he gives wisdom.

44:1 I will now praise those godly people,
our ancestors, each in his own time -

2 The Most High's portion, great in glory,
reserved to himself from ancient days.

In 43:33, God gives wisdom to the pious (חסידים),⁹⁶ and in turn, in 44:1-2, it is to pious (חסיד) men that "great glory" (כבוד/πολλήν δόξαν) is attributed. Both the theme of glory and the theme of wisdom enable Ben Sira to make a transition from creation to election.

National Epic. Israel as God's Portion.

Israel's heroes are celebrated as those who were "great in glory." If we understand this poem as continuing the theme of the creation-hymn, this phrase would mean those in whom Yahweh's glory was manifest upon earth and who as a consequence attracted to themselves honor and reputation.⁹⁷ God's splendour and wisdom, revealed in creation, has

⁹⁵Compare Sir 16:24-17:14, 39:14-35. Creation witnesses to the wisdom of God. See Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 147-151.

⁹⁶Compare Sir 37:26, "One wise for his people wins a heritage of glory and his name lives on and on."

Some see the reference to the חסידים as a specific reference to the religious/political group active from the Maccabean period on. See for instance Siebeneck, "Sirach's Praise," 417. On whether such a firm identification is fully warranted, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.153.

⁹⁷The opening prologue of the "Praise of the Fathers" speaks three times of the "glory" allotted to pious heroes. We have quoted 44:2 above. 44:7 states "All these were honoured in their generations, And in their

also been revealed in this line of celebrated men, those elected by God to lead Israel throughout the course of her salvation history.⁹⁸ As is Sir 17:17 and 24:12, the phrase in 44:2, "the Most High's portion," is a reference to Deut 32:7-9.⁹⁹ The heroes of Israel are those elected in distinction to the rest of humanity into a special relationship with God and a divine destiny. Thus, as in Sir 16:26-17:17 and in Sir 24, here Ben Sira has moved immediately from creation to election and covenant. The glory described in the creation hymn is an introduction to the glory of Israel's heroes, which in turn serves to introduce the glory of Israel's cult.

The election-covenant theme is evident throughout the entire structure of the poem. The first seven figures, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron and Phineas, all are mentioned with particular reference to the covenant established by God through them.¹⁰⁰ This emphasis on covenant is shown by the fact that following Phineas an aside is made to the covenant with David (45:25), a figure who at this point is chronologically out of place and who will be described at length two chapters later (47:1-11).¹⁰¹ These covenants are the starting points for the validation of the election of Israel (44:18, 20, 22) and of the royal (45:25, 47:11, 22) and priestly (45:12, 24-25) institutions established in her history.

The bestowal of covenants introduces the theme of covenantal faithfulness. Explicitly with Noah (44:17-18), Abraham (44:20), Jacob (44:23), Moses (44:4-5), Aaron (45:17), Phineas (45:23-24, "he was zealous in the fear of the Lord, and stood fast, when the people turned away"), Joshua (46:6-7, "he wholly followed the Mighty One" and with

days had glory" (MS B - תפארתם). Glory is specifically attributed to Abraham (44:19-20, כבוד), Moses (45:2, the MS B is mutilated, Gk reads ὡμοιωσεν αὐτον δόξῃ ἁγίῳ), Phineas (45:23, הדר, following Smend's restoration of the damaged MS B), Elijah (48:4, ἐδοξάσθη, Heb should be rendered literally, "How terrible were thou, Elijah; he who is like thee shall be glorified" (תפארת) - See Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus*, 326), and Nehemiah (49:12, Mas & MS B - יאדר). We will deal at length with the glory ascribed to Aaron and Simon II.

⁹⁸B. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) 52. Mack underscores the uniqueness of the Praise of the Fathers in light of the fact that the glory of Yahweh given to these men was usually reserved in priestly traditions for descriptions of the cult.

⁹⁹Reading here חֶלֶק, "portion," in place of RSV חֶלֶק, "apportioned," See P.W. Skehan, "Staves and Nails and Scribal Slips (Ben Sira 44:2-5)," *BASOR* 200 (1970) 70-71, and Skehan and DiLella, 498.

¹⁰⁰The verse regarding Enoch, 44:16 is found in MS B and Gk but not in Mas or Syr. Most scholars agree that it is a later interpolation. See Skehan and DiLella, 499.

¹⁰¹Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 39. For the importance of covenant in the Praise of the Fathers, see as well Siebeneck, "Sirach's Praise," 418.

Caleb "restrained the people from sin"), the judges (46:11), Samuel (46:14), and Josiah (49:2-3), piety is manifested as covenant keeping, Torah faithfulness, zeal for the Law and teaching the statutes of the covenant. Particularly with Phineas, but with other heroes as well, covenantal zeal was specifically manifested in removing defilement caused by foreign influences.¹⁰² The application of this aspect of piety to Ben Sira's own times is immediately evident. Thus, wisdom, piety (which is Torah faithfulness) and glory are linked in "The Praise of the Fathers."¹⁰³

It has long been recognized that the Praise of the Fathers reflects the nationalism found throughout the book of Sirach. In imitating the panegyric style of other Hellenistic works which glorify past national heroes, the Praise of the Fathers functions to show that the Jews do not fall behind their Hellenistic contemporaries in any claim to an illustrious history or tradition of wisdom. In fact, her heroes were the bearers of the very glory of God. Furthermore, the "illustrious men of the past were the concrete expression of Israel's exclusive possession of true wisdom."¹⁰⁴ Thus the great heroes of Israel's past, as manifestations of God's glory and wisdom, are another way in which Ben Sira can secure the identity of Israel as the elect people of God.

¹⁰²Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 192-195. Perdue, with many other scholars, argues that the emphasis on Phineas has a probable historical root: Ben Sira supported the Zadokite (specifically Oniad claim) to the high priestly office against other competing priestly families, particularly the Tobiads. However, Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," has shown that throughout his writing (most scholars consider 51:12 in Heb MS B a later addition) Ben Sira emphasizes a pan-Aaronid priesthood, thus in fact arguing against the exclusive claims of the Zadokites.

¹⁰³The opening stanza of the book links wisdom with the fear of the Lord: God "exalted the glory of those who held her fast" (Sir 1:19). Similarly, Sir 4:13. In Sir 40:27, the fear of the Lord is spoken of in imagery that employs paradise language. The Masada text reads,

יראת אלהים כעדן ברכה / ועל כל כבוד חפחה

"The fear of God is a very Eden of blessing and its canopy over all that is glorious," or "The fear of God is like an Eden of blessing; and the glory of its canopy is over all." MS B is complete, reading as above, except for the last word, which is shown clearly by Masada. The glorious canopy is based on Isa 4:5, an eschatological text. The reference to Eden may reflect Isa 51:3, in addition to Gen 2-3 and Eze 28.

¹⁰⁴Seibeneck, "Sirach's Praise," 413. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.136 sums up the apologetic attempt of Ben Sira as follows, "The holy literature and history of Israel with its great men and acts is far superior to non-Jewish, Greek history and literature (44:3-9), and the 'inspired wisdom' of the *sopher* and the prophetic tradition entrusted to him and guided by God is completely in a position to keep within bounds the threatening influences of 'Greek wisdom', which only rests on human reasoning."

But beyond the individual heroes, the nationalistic thrust of this passage moves beyond the praise of specific individuals to the glorification of the institutions and offices which they represent. As Burton Mack writes;

Ben Sira's figures are certainly not heroes of achievement... They are to be remembered, and their glory noted under a single aspect only. They are ideal figures of official functions, the very functions requisite to a social construction of Israel's history.¹⁰⁵

In this sense, the Praise of the Fathers is a defense of the social and religious offices and structures prescribed in the Torah, the ideal society of priests, scribes, warriors and kings to which much of conservative Judaism desired to return. Against the secularization of Jewish life through Hellenistic influence, the praise of the past reflects the critique of the present, and calls for a restoration of loyalty to the ideology of covenant and cult, a return to divinely ordered life.¹⁰⁶ The cry, "May their bones return to life" (46:12, 49:10), which ends the sections in the Hymn on the judges and the prophets, calls not so much for personal

¹⁰⁵Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 179.

¹⁰⁶The clear deliniation between the priestly covenants and the royal covenants may itself reflect Ben Sira's critical attitude towards the politicizing of the high priestly office. See Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 194.

Simon II, glorified in Sir 50, had been able to secure from Antiochus III legal guarantees that the Jewish religion, its cult, and the Temple, would be free to perform its role and function without interference from the Seleucid government. This was a great victory for conservative forces within Judaism. However, upon the death of Simon II, tensions arose between his two sons, Onias III, who assumed the office of high priest, and Jason, who would soon lead the attempted Hellenistic reform after displacing his brother by buying the office of high priest from Antiochus IV. The vacillation and vulnerability of Onias III was a well-founded concern for conservative Jews in Jerusalem. Ben Sira desired to inject into this situation the question of theodicy in the political leadership of the country. The God of Israel demands covenant fidelity of those whom he entrusts to lead the nation. To meet this demand means honour and glory, both for the individual leader and the nation as a whole. To rebel against the Torah and the covenant means shame and destruction, again both for leader and nation. This political-theodicy is one of the themes of the "Praise of the the Fathers."

Interspersed among sections that recount the glory of men who are honoured in Israel's history, we also find remembrance of those who received shame, not glory (Solomon, 47:20-21, Rehoboam and Jeroboam, 47:23). Ben Sira summarizing the folly of Israel's kings:

Sir 49:4-7

- 4 Except David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, they all did corruptly;
 And forsook the law of the Most High, the kings of Judah,
 till they were ended.
- 5 So he turned their horn backward, and (gave) their glory (כבודם)
 to a foolish, foreign nation;
- 6 And they set on fire the holy city, and made her ways desolate.

If a leader forsakes the Torah, his personal sin and lack of understanding result in God's wrath and judgement upon the nation.

The Hebrew text of Sir 45:26, and Sir 50:23-24 personalize this admonition to faithfulness directly to the sons of Simon. Thus, it is clear that Ben Sira intended the Praise of the Fathers as an admonition addressed to the Jewish leadership of his day to return to covenant fidelity.

resurrection, but the institutional rebirth of those who will lead in the divine correction of a society going wrong.¹⁰⁷

Thus the Praise of the Fathers points back to Israel's national heritage as an ethnic, social and religious entity. In recalling the glory of the heroes of the past, Ben Sira is able to link the glory of God with the central ideas of Judaism: (1) the election of Israel, (2) piety as Torah faithfulness and zeal for the Law, (3) the Aaronic cult and Davidic kingship as expressions of covenant. The heroes of Israel's past are expressions of offices and institutions divinely ordained by God. Thus, the hymn both legitimates the value of these offices and institutions as well as critiques implicitly their current practice. As in Sir 17 and Sir 24, in Sir 42:15-50:24 creation themes are used to establish Israel's claim to a unique and special ethnocentric and nationalistic identity. The glory of God, witnessed in the creation, is also manifested upon the heroes of her salvation history. As we shall see, the culmination of this movement from creation to election is the glory of God in the cult.

5.3 The Glory of the Priestly Office: Sir 47:7-8, 50:5-20

As L. Perdue writes, the extensive references to the cult throughout the book of Ben Sira demonstrates

the absorbing interest of this Palestinian sage in the cultic institutions and practices existing during the Hellenistic period of Jewish history.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore,

...Sirach regards cultic religion as an essential and important part of both Israel's religious heritage and the wise man's own religious devotion.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷See Siebeneck, "Sirach's Praise," 411-28 and Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 179-184.

¹⁰⁸Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 188. Consult Perdue, 188-211 for an extensive analysis on the cult in Ben Sira. Central references to the cult in Ben Sira include 7:8-10, 29-31, 24:10-15, 31:21-32:20, 38:9-11, 45:14-16, 23-26, 46:16, 47:2, 49:1, 50:1-21. Schnabel, 24, notes that Ben Sira has selected to honour kings who were particularly champions of the cult: David (47:1-11), Solomon (47:12-23), Hezekiah (48:17-22), and Josiah (49:1-3).

¹⁰⁹Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 211.

Thus, the cult for Ben Sira lies at the core of Israel's identity as the elect people of God. In this composition regarding the glory of God, it is not surprising to find that for Ben Sira the Temple is the chief location of this manifestation of divine immanence. Sir 49:12 says:

12 In their days they built the house
and raised a temple holy to the Lord,
prepared for everlasting glory.

Above all, the foremost manifestation of God's glory in humanity occurs in the high priestly office.

Ben Sira described Aaron as follows: in Sir 45:7b-8.

Sir 45:7-8¹¹⁰

7 He made an everlasting covenant with him,
And gave him the priesthood of the people.
He blessed him with His glory (בכבודו),
And girded him with exceeding great glory (תואר).¹¹¹
8 He clothed him with the perfection of glory (תפארת),
And adorned (ויפארהו) him with glory (בכבוד) and strength...

The splendour of Aaron's appearance clearly echoes the instruction of Ex 28:40 "And for Aaron's sons you shall make coats and girdles and caps; you shall make them for glory (כבוד) and splendour (תפארת)." The parallelism of the lines in Sir 45:7b-8 shows that כבוד is not a technical term clearly distinct from the other Hebrew words for glory in these verses, תואר and תפארת. In the "piling up" of terms for glory in these 2 verses it is obvious that Ben Sira is making a point. The garments of the high priest symbolize the presence of the glory of God in the worship of the cult.

Simon II is also described by various terms for glory. Ben Sira writes of Simon II fulfilling his priestly office on the Day of Atonement:¹¹²

¹¹⁰Heb from MS B, ET follows MS B, except reading the last phrase of verse 7 with MS B marg and Gk. See next footnote.

¹¹¹Following MS B marg (בהתעפות תואר) and Gk (δόξης), with Skehan and DiLella, 509 and Box and Oesterly, *APOT*, 1.486. MS B text-תפארת-בהתעפות ראם-towering horns of a wild ox has been unduly influenced by Num 23:22, 24:8.

¹¹²This is the majority view, although F. O'Fearghail, "Sir. 50:5-21 - Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?" *Bib* 59 (1978) 301-16 has made a strong case for considering the description to be of the daily whole offering. Such a conclusion would add further weight to the association of cult with Paradise. Every day in Israel is an opportunity to partake in Paradise!

Sir 50:5-20

- 5 How glorious was he (MS B - מַה נִּהְדָּר)¹¹³ when he looked forth
from the Tent, And when he went out from the house of the veil!
- 6 As the morning star from amid thick clouds;
And as the full moon in the days of the solemn feast.
- 7 And as the sun dawning upon the temple of the King;
And as the rainbow seen in the cloud...¹¹⁴
- 11 When he put on his robes of glory (MS B - כְּבוֹד)
And clothed himself in robes of glory/beauty (MS B - תְּפָאֶרֶת)
When he went up to the altar of majesty,
And made glorious (MS B - וַיְהַדָּר) the court of the sanctuary.
- 12 ...Round him a crown of sons...
- 13 All the sons of Aaron in their glory (MS B - בְּכִבְדָּם)...
- 20 ...And the blessing of the Lord was on his lips.
He glorified himself/he gloried (MS B - הִתְפָּאֶרֶת) with the name of the Lord.

Clearly, Ben Sira is at pains to identify the office and ministry of Simon II with Aaron, the father of the priesthood, by the parallel descriptions of the glory of their appearance. Ben Sira's desire to champion and authenticate the role of Simon II is evident with force here. But further, by describing the glorious appearance of Simon II in comparison with the celestial lights, Ben Sira links him to the descriptive language of the creation hymn, with its emphasis upon the glory of the celestial realm. Thus, he reinforces the theme of the unity between the glory of the Creator visible in the creation, and the manifestation of divine glory in Israel's worship. The glory of the Creator fills the creation, but it is particularly in the celebration of the cult that the immanence of Yahweh is witnessed and experienced.

The shekinah of God's presence is the crowning gift of the priesthood.

Sir 45:25c

- 25c An inheritance of fire in the presence of his glory (MS B - כְּבוֹדוֹ)
was the inheritance of Aaron unto all his seed.
And now bless ye the Lord, the good,
who hath crowned you with glory (MS B - כְּבוֹד) ...¹¹⁵

The meaning of glory, particularly as it is associated with the cult, is being clothed in beatific splendour, the sign of the presence of Yahweh.

Thus, Ben Sira has drawn a direct line from the glory of creation to the glorious men of the elect, covenant people, and finally to the chief manifestation of God's glory, Israel's

¹¹³MS B is the same here as in 46:2, which speaks of Joshua. Translation basically follows Cowley-Neubauer.

¹¹⁴Gk expands to ἐν νεφέλαις δόξης.

¹¹⁵Translation by Cowley-Neubauer, following MS B.

cult. But this line of argument from creation to cult is made even more explicit by the short paragraph which immediately precedes the description of Simon II.

5.4 The Transition to the Present through the Past. The Glory of the Cult in Urzeit-Endzeit Imagery: Sir 49:14-16

In the verses which immediately precede the description of Simon II, the Hebrew text would be translated as follows:

Sir 49:14-16

- 14 Few have been formed of earth like Enoch¹¹⁶
...he was bodily taken away.
15 If, like Joseph, he had been born a man,
Then, his corpse also would have been cared for.
16 Shem and Seth and Enosh were honoured,¹¹⁷
But over all the living is the glory of Adam.

16 וְשֵׁם וְשֵׁת וְאֵנוֹשׁ נִכְבְּדוּ
וְעַל כָּל-חַי תִּפְאֶרֶת אָדָם

16 Σημ καὶ Σηθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάσθησαν,
καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ζῶντων ἐν τῇ κτίσει Ἀδάμ.

The figure of Enoch had already attracted to itself a developed tradition in Second Temple Judaism. Shem, the son of Noah, was the father of the Semites to which Israel traced her ancestry. Enosh, Seth and Adam are the early primeval figures.¹¹⁸ This reference to primeval figures seems abrupt and out of place in the flow of the hymn. Following the prologue (44:1-15), the catalogue of honoured persons began with Noah (44:17) and ended with Nehemiah (49:13). The sense of a "leap-back" to primal history in 49:14-16 is intensified by the fact that the verses which follow in Sir 50 are made in reference to the high priest Simon II.¹¹⁹ This sense of interruption caused by 49:14-16 has caused some

¹¹⁶This translation from the Hebrew texts is by Lee, *Studies*, 231-232. The Masada text shows that 44:16 is not in this position in the original Heb text, and that Ben Sira's list of the Fathers begins with Noah.

Yadin, *Ben Sira Scroll*, 38, followed by Lee, suggests a "restoration" of 44:16c and b between 49:14a and 49:14b. The translation which Lee offers for these verses continues, "A sign of knowledge to generation upon generation / He walked with Yahweh / And also..." In v 15, the construction וְכִי...אִם is of an unreal condition. Compare Gen 13:16.

¹¹⁷MS B reads נִפְקְדוּ "were visited," but Smend, Box and Oesterley, *APOT*, and Lee, *Studies*, all emend to נִכְבְּדוּ. Note here Is 44:13, which speaks of the idol maker who "shapes it into the figure of a man, with the beauty of a man," אִישׁ כְּתִבְנִית אִישׁ כְּתִפְאֶרֶת אָדָם.

¹¹⁸Compare 1 Chr 1:1 and Luke 3:38, where these three names occur in genealogies.

¹¹⁹According to Josephus (*Ant.* 12.224, 229, 238, 19.298), Simon II was in office during the conquest of Jerusalem by Antiochus III in 199/198. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.131.

commentators to consider them a later addition, made in order to include early heroes who had gained importance in intertestamental eschatological speculations.¹²⁰ Box and Oesterley understand the return to the figure of Enoch and the tracing back of antediluvian figures to Adam as a stylistic manner by which to close the hymn proper and mark a transition to what they see to be an appendix regarding Simon II.¹²¹ However, Lee has recently re-argued convincingly the proposal set forth earlier by Peters, that Sir 44:14-16 serves as an *Überleitung* to the "praise of Simon."¹²²

Immediately after remarking that "over all the living is the תפארת of Adam" (49:16b), Sirach describes Simon as "the leader of his brethren and the תפארת of his people" (50:1). תפארת serves to link both the two poems together and more specifically the two individuals, Adam and Simon II. In Greek literature in praise of rulers and heroes, the subjects are often placed in direct apposition to the gods from whom they are said to descend.¹²³ Having traced Simon's heritage from Noah, the father of the "remnant" and everlasting covenants (44:17-18) to Nehemiah, the rebuilder of ruins, Sirach attempts to heighten the honour and glory of Simon by linking him with the great figures of the early chapters of Genesis, Adam and Enoch. "Thus the enumeration of the antediluvian figures, who became the source of much apocalyptic speculation in Judaism and early Christianity, is placed immediately before Ben Sira's celebration of Simon II as a way of amplifying this great high priest all the more."¹²⁴ Reference is made to the glory of primal time in order to enhance the honour and glory of Simon, and therefore the Temple and Israel's cult. Adam is remembered as the first highly honoured patriarch of Israel, the beginning point of the catalogues of figures of her salvation-history, and in particular, as the forefather and progenitor of Simon II. Primeval glory is now manifested in the high priest of Israel, and

¹²⁰Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 135 and Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 248.

¹²¹Box and Oesterley, *APOT*, 1.506. Smend, 412 also regards 44-49 as one unit with 50 as an appendix.

¹²²N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (EHAT 25; Münster i.W.: Aschendorff, 1913) 422, cited by Lee, *Studies*, 11, 232-234.

¹²³Lee, *Studies*, 233-234 notes three examples. 1) Isocrates places Evagoras alongside Zeus (*Evag.* 12-23); 2) Xenophon traces Agesiaius' lineage back to Heracles (*Ages.* 1.2), 3) Theocritus places Ptolemy in side-by-side relationship to Zeus (*Id.* 17:1-4, 13-18).

¹²⁴Lee, *Studies*, 233-234.

his performance of her cultic worship.¹²⁵ Once again, Ben Sira has used creation imagery to enhance Israel's claim to having a preeminent role among the nations.

Although claiming for Adam a glory "above all living things," Ben Sira does not specify the basis for this claim. The precise meaning of "the glory of Adam" is elusive, but in the context of both the creation hymn and the Praise of the Fathers, it would seem to be associated in some way with a splendor which results from an immanent manifestation of the Creator's presence, as well as honour and renown due to this glorification.¹²⁶ As we shall see, reference to "the glory of Adam" occurs four times in documents from Qumran, (4Q504 2:1-12 equates the glory of Adam with him being created in the image of God, 1QS 4:23, CD 3:20, 11QH 17:5 each promise the covenanters the glory of Adam as an eschatological reward).¹²⁷

A theme closely associated with glory in the Praise of the Fathers is wisdom: the heroes of Israel were pious men, great in glory, to whom God bestowed wisdom. In sections of Ben Sira we have examined earlier, wisdom is one of the chief characteristics attributed to Adam. Edmund Jacobs has concluded that 49:16 indicates that Adam is regarded as the sage *par excellence*.¹²⁸ As we have seen in Sir 17:1-10, the first humans are endowed with wisdom, knowledge and insight, God himself teaching them "good and evil." Being in God's image and empowered by God's own *ἰσχυς*, they exercise dominion over all creation. We determined the meaning of "image" and "strength" to be related to sharing

¹²⁵Such a link between creation and cult has already been seen in Sir 24:10, where the Wisdom of God, after her activity in creation is pictured as "ministering" in the cult in Zion, and following on in 24:15, where the spices of Eden make up the incense used in functions of worship.

¹²⁶The matter is complicated by the fact that the Gk translation of Sir 49:16b leaves out the Hebrew noun *תפארת*, and further, fails to provide a verb for the clause. The Greek also adds *ἐν ἀνθρώποις* to the first clause and *ἐν τῇ κτίσει* to the second.

Is the verb "to be" understood, in which case the translation would be "Adam *is* above/over all the living in the creation, or is *ἐδοξάσθησαν*, supplied from the first clause, to be interposed, in which case the translation would be "Adam is *glorified/honored* above all the living in the creation"?

¹²⁷See J. Marböck, "Henoch-Adam-der Thronwagen," *BZ* 25 (1981) 108, who develops the connection between Sir 49:19 and the DSS.

¹²⁸E. Jacobs, "L'histoire d'Israël vue par Ben Sira," in *Mélanges Bibliques Rédigés en L'honneur de André Robert* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1957) 293-4.

in the Wisdom of the Creator. Thus, it is very possible that the glory of Adam is somehow connected to his being endowed with wisdom.¹²⁹

Another idea occurring in 49:16 which was common in Judaism during this period is the claiming of Adam as the first patriarch of Israel.¹³⁰ The establishing of a direct line between Israel and Adam enabled Israel to claim for herself the primeval glory and wisdom of Adam, the very characteristics Ben Sira was so firmly attempting to claim exclusively for Israel. But what is most evident at this point is the same sense of a realized eschatology described by means of the *Urzeit-Endzeit* motif as we saw in the Zion theology found in Sir 24. As the Temple on Zion is the actualization of Paradise, so too the primeval glory of Adam finds its present fulfillment in the person of Simon II.¹³¹

The association between primal time and the priesthood of Simon is also evident in the description of Simon in Sir 50:12.

12 He was like a young cedar of Lebanon;
 And they [the priests] surrounded him like the trunks of palm trees.

As we saw in Sir 24:13-17, similar tree imagery (including specifically references to cedars and palm trees) was used to associate Palestine, as wisdom's home, with the Garden of Eden.

In these ways, the description of Adam is drawn in to enhance the claims of the priesthood of Simon II. Ben Sira identifies the glory of Paradise with the glory of the priestly ministry. The glory of God, revealed in creation, which rested supremely upon

¹²⁹Compare the *Urmensch* tradition in Eze 28 with its emphasis on wisdom. See also 2 Enoch 30:11. LAE 12:12ff closely associates Adam being in "the image of God" with angelic-like existence. For additional comparative texts, see Marbock, "Henoch-Adam-der Thronwagen," 108.

¹³⁰See Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 34, and R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (London: Blackwell, 1966) 22.

¹³¹Some scholars have argued that the passage is eschatological and conclude that it therefore must be a later addition to the text. See Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 135 and Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 248. Other scholars who consider the passage to be eschatological include Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 45, Jacobs, "L'histoire," 293-4. An excellent overview of treating Adam in Sir 49:16 as an eschatological or messianic reference is found in J.D. Martin, "Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers: A Messianic Perspective," in *Crisis and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology and Intertestamental Literature* (OS 24; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 117-119.

Martin's earlier work, "Ben Sira - A Child of His Time," in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honour of William McKane* (ed. J. D. Martin and P. R. Davies; JSOTSupp 42; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986) raised a number of common areas between Ben Sira and apocalyptic literature: an interest in the structure of the cosmos, historiography, the relationship of astronomy to the calendar, etc. Both Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* and J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), though in different ways, have tied together pious scribes to the rise of apocalyptic literature.

Adam, the crown of creation, is the glory manifested in the high priestly service of Simon II. Once again, creation imagery is adopted to bolster the particularistic identity of the people of God.

5.5 Summary: From Creation to Covenant and Cult.

In both Sir 24 and Sir 43-50, Ben Sira moves thematically *from creation to election and covenant to cult*. In Sir 24, the unifying motif is wisdom: the wisdom by which the world was created has taken up abode in the Temple of Jerusalem and transformed it into Paradise. In Sir 43-51, the unifying motif is glory: the glory of God which is witnessed in creation expresses itself also in the heroes of the covenant and in the celebration of the cult. In the same way that "over all the living is the glory of Adam," so Simon II is "the leader of his brethren and the glory of his people."

Furthermore, in both Sir 24 and Sir 43-50, what lies between creation and cult is a section which addresses the issue of Israel's election and covenants. Ben Sira used both motifs of wisdom and glory to affirm the special identity of Israel in the world: she is the portion of the Most High. But in both these units, the description of the cult is a high point in the development of the composition. Although overstated, there is much to be said for E. Jacob's remark, "If his attitude towards the cult places him in the line of prophetic preaching, e.g. 34:18-35:15, it is nonetheless true that during his time the cult was about the only means *for Israel to affirm its identity*."¹³² Covenant and cult are the two primary ways to illustrate Ben Sira's claim that Israel uniquely is the possessor of wisdom.

In Sirach, creation themes and creation theology were used to introduce and establish these two key areas of Israel's identity as the people of God. As we have noted regarding these two passages, Ben Sira links together creation and cult, both in the overall structure of themes (creation, election/covenant, cult) and by the immediate association of the cult with Paradise imagery (the temple as Eden in Sir 24, the analogy between the glory of Adam and

¹³²E. Jacob, "Wisdom and Religion in Sirach," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J. Gammie, W. Brueggemann, W. L. Humphreys, J. Ward; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978) 260 n. 32, emphasis mine.

the glory of Simon II in 49:16-50:1). Thus, the employment of creation imagery to directly enhance the status of the cult is another example in our investigation of how creation themes were utilized in affirming Israel's identity of the people of God in Second Temple Judaism.

6. Conclusions

6.1 The Central Aspects of Israel's Identity: Election, Torah and Cult

In studying the book of Sirach, it is evident that in the crucial period preceding the full confrontation between Judaism and Hellenism in Jerusalem Ben Sira attempted in his writing to reaffirm the chief boundary markers of Judaism. Israel has been elected to be "the Portion of the Most High," the Torah and the practice of covenantal faithfulness is Wisdom itself, and in the cult is expressed the fulfillment of God's intention in creating humanity.

6.2 The "Nationalistic" interpretation of Gen 1-3

Our study shows that Ben Sira is well acquainted with the creation aspects of Zion theology, and he maintains the nationalistic elements when he utilizes the creation imagery found in Zion tradition. What emerges with great clarity in Sirach is the application of Gen 1-3 in specifically nationalistic ways, the development of an "ethnocentric hermeneutic" that read these text with the purpose of linking them to Israel's election, covenant/Torah and cult.

In Sir 33:7-13, the precedent of God distinguishing between days (Gen 1:14, 2:1-3) is the foundation of arguing his election of Israel from among the nations. As God ordered the cosmos through separation and distinction, he so distinguished Israel from among the nations. The picture of the Creator as Potter (Gen 2:7) closes this passage on the determinative prerogative of God's wisdom. In Sir 15:11-20, the implicit Torah theology which underpins Gen 2-3 is made an explicit illustration of the need to choose Torah faithfulness and covenantal fidelity. In Sir 17:1-10, having interpreted the creation stories of Gen 1-2 with extended wisdom themes, Ben Sira proceeds to equate wisdom with Torah.

He moves from Eden to Sinai without a break, thus emphasizing the continuum he sees between the wisdom given Adam (equated with him being in the image of God) and the wisdom given Israel, the Torah which distinguishes her as the covenantal people of God. The promise of primeval history is fulfilled in covenantal history.

In Sir 24:3, Gen 1 (creation by word) and Gen 2:6 (the dark cloud which watered the earth) are interpreted as indicating Wisdom's involvement in creation. Next, the theme of the quest for the land (evident in Patriarchal tradition, Exodus tradition and Zion tradition) is read in terms of Wisdom's search for a dwelling place on earth and eventual abode in Jerusalem. Thus, the role of Wisdom in creation prepares for her eventual manifestation within Israel as the shekinah of the cult and the Torah of the covenant.

6.3 From the Universal to the Particular

To establish the identity of Israel as the elect people of God Ben Sira argues from the universal to the particular. In Sir 17:1-10 and Sir 24, Wisdom is first given her most universal breadth by associating her with the process of creation, which in turn prepares the way for depicting her in her most ethnocentric aspect, the equation of Wisdom with Torah. Similarly, in Sir 43-50, the theme of God's glory is first introduced in its broadest manifestation in creation, then given its most narrow historical expression in the heroes of Israel and the glory of the cult. In both Sir 24 and Sir 43-50, the argument flows from creation to election to cult. Thus, creation is used to depict the Wisdom and glory of God in their most universal application in preparation for describing them in their most particularistic expression: as the unique possessions of Israel. The universal breadth gives all the more force then to the claim that the wisdom and glory of God are to be found within the boundaries of the elect people of God. In this way, the creation stories and creation tradition provide the groundwork for election.

6.4 The Cult and Paradise

In Sirach, the cult is given specific identity as the place where universal wisdom is expressed and the glory of God is manifested. To reaffirm the value of the cult, one of the chief "identity badges" of Judaism, Ben Sira often uses Paradise imagery. Describing Zion in terms of Paradise was central to the Zion tradition of ancient Israel (reflecting cosmic mountain imagery in general). Ben Sira is unique because he draws his association between Paradise and cult directly from the text of Gen 1-3. In Sir 24, Wisdom's presence turns Palestine into Paradise. References to the plants of Eden and the Rivers of Paradise serve to underscore that those who have the Torah have access to the life of Paradise. In Sir 43-50, the glory of God in creation is manifested uniquely upon the high priests of Israel (Sir 47:7-8, 50:5-20). In particular, the glory of Adam which was "above all the living" is realized in the person of Simon II, clothed in primeval glory as he functions in cultic service (49:16-50:20). Ben Sira utilized Paradise tradition drawn from Gen 1-3 to enhance the appreciation of the value of Israel's cult.

SECTION 2. THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON: CREATION, COVENANTAL NOMISM AND THE PEOPLE OF GOD

1. Introduction

The Wisdom of Solomon was written in Alexandria between 50 BCE and 50 CE.¹³³ Composed in Greek, it was addressed to the Jewish community in Alexandria which seems to have been experiencing both persecution from outside forces and internal division through the influence of Hellenism upon its members.¹³⁴ The book, aimed at encouraging the faith of the community, was written as a protreptic, "an appeal to follow a meaningful philosophy as a way of life," and reveals that the author was well acquainted with Hellenistic philosophy and literary style¹³⁵ while at the same time having a thorough-going acquaintance and fluency with the Old Testament.¹³⁶ It is now widely accepted that the

¹³³There is no uncontested clear evidence given by the text as to the specific time when the Wisdom of Solomon was written. The author is familiar with the LXX, so his work must have been done sometime after 200 BCE. The acquaintance of Paul and perhaps Matthew with the book (or possibly with tradition contained in the book) means that it was written before their writings. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; New York: Doubleday, 1979), perhaps overemphasizing aspects of polemic in the book, argues for a date between 37-41 CE, during the persecution of the Jews by Caligula. An earlier date is more widely accepted. For extensive discussion on the dating, see C. Larcher, *Le Livre de La Sagesse ou La Sagesse de Salomon* (3 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1983-1985) 1.141-161, and Winston, 20-25.

The edition used of the LXX of WisSol is *Sapientia Salomonis* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum XII/1; ed. J Ziegler Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), except where noted. Unless noted, the ET follows the RSV.

¹³⁴This is widely agreed upon by scholars. For instance, J. Reider, *The Book of Wisdom* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957) 10-11, "There can be no doubt that the purpose of the Book of Wisdom is primarily to strengthen the faith of the pious Jews..." and Winston, 63, "The author is primarily addressing his fellow Jews in an effort to encourage them to take pride in their traditional faith. He seeks to convince them that their way of life, rooted in the worship of the One true God, is of an incomparably higher order than that of their pagan neighbors, whose idolatrous polytheism has sunk them into the mire of immorality."

¹³⁵G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1981) 175, following J. M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnaBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970) 117-121. As noted by Nickelsburg and Reese on the pages cited, as well as E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; revised and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986) 3.569-570, the author employs Hellenistic rhetorical devices, including diatribe, syncrisis (Pt 3 is an extended syncrisis), aporia, and paradeigma. The influence of the kingship tracts is noted below. He is well acquainted with Hellenistic science and philosophy, although he has been accused of using Greek words and ideas without a complete understanding of their meanings.

¹³⁶See in particular P. W. Skehan, *The Literary Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the OT* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1938) along with the articles by Skehan, "Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 10 (1948) 384-397, "Isaias and the Teaching of the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 2 (1940) 289-299. See also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 36-37, 50, 154, and in its entirety, G. Ziener, *Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit* (BBB 11; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956).

book is a structural unity.¹³⁷ The sub-division of the book is debated. For this study we understand it to be divided in three parts: Part 1 - the "book of eschatology" (chaps. 1-5), Part 2 - the "book of Wisdom" (chaps. 6-10) and Part 3 - the "book of history" (chaps. 11-19).

Many have understood the author to be broadening the boundaries established by conservative Judaism, universalizing concepts such as righteousness and wisdom.¹³⁸ Other scholars, however, understand the purpose of the author in a very different way. For example, we can cite the words of A. DiLella:

Though he employed some of the language and techniques of the Greek philosophers, Pseudo-Solomon's purpose was not to reconcile Judaism with Hellenism - a task that Philo attempted a few years later - but rather to prevent the Hellenization of Judaism...¹³⁹ Pseudo-Solomon was a conscientious and convinced Jew who in no way compromised his religious beliefs when utilizing the resource of Greek humanism to convey his message.¹⁴⁰

As we consider how creation tradition and creation theology was used to support Israel's election and covenantal faith in WisSol, we must also have an eye out to clarify whether the Judaism portrayed in WisSol indeed remains nationalistic and ethnocentric. Does the author use the creation story and creation theology to emphasize and reinforce Israel's identity as the elect people of God and the traditional manner in which her faith had been understood and expressed? As we found in Sirach, does the author of WisSol likewise interpret Gen 1-3 to reflect covenantal faith, the function and role of the Torah and the special identity of Israel as the people of God?

¹³⁷See in particular Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 122-145 who points to the use of 'flashback' techniques.

¹³⁸See for instance Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 67, 77-78, 109-112, 143-145, 156 and Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 160. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 144-145 agrees with Ziener that the "enlargement of perspective from the covenant with Israel to the saving love of God toward all men is characteristic of the entire book."

¹³⁹DiLella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology," 409.

¹⁴⁰DiLella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology," 411. See also D. B. Garlington, *The Obedience of Faith: A Pauline Phrase in Historical Context* (WUNT 2.38; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 69-89 whose study on faith and infidelity affirms that the author of WisSol ultimately defines these terms in relationship to covenantal nomism, and that he looked for the ultimate reign of Israel over the nations.

2. Creation, Covenantal Nomism and the Reward for Righteousness in WisSol 1-5

2.1 Death is not the intention of the Creator: WisSol 1:11-15

WisSol 1-5, in the guise of an appeal to kings, charges the faithful of Israel to live according to righteousness ("love righteousness," 1:1-5).¹⁴¹ An ultimatum is issued to refrain from the way of error, for to choose not to follow Wisdom is to choose death.¹⁴²

WisSol 1:11-15¹⁴³

- 11 Keep yourselves therefore from profitless grumbling;
Restrain your tongue from speaking against (God).
For stealthy utterance will not go unpunished,
And a lying mouth slays the soul.
- 12 Court not death by your erring way of life,
And do not draw to yourselves destruction
by the works of your hands.
- 13 Because God made not death,
Nor does he rejoice in the destruction of human beings;
- 14 For he created all things that they (human beings) might live,
And the creatures of the world are wholesome,
And there is not a destructive drug in them,
Nor is the kingdom of Hades upon earth.
- 15 For righteousness is immortal.
- 13 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς θάνατον οὐκ ἐποίησεν
οὐδὲ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλεία ζώντων.
- 14 ἔκτισεν γὰρ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα,
καὶ σωτήριοι αἱ γενέσεις τοῦ κόσμου...

A variety of words are used to indicate death: ἀναιρεῖν ψυχὴν (v 11), θάνατος (v 12), ἀπωλεία (v 13), ὀλέθρος (vv 12, 14). Death is not only physical death, but has to do with the issue of the immortality of the soul (evil actions "slay the soul," v 11).¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴¹The figurative 'royal address' reflects the idea popular in the Hellenistic world which regarded kingship as the model of human excellence. Many treatises 'on kingship' were written (e.g. Dio of Prusa's four orations on kingship, seemingly presented to Emperor Trajan and Plutarch's *To an Uneducated Ruler*). Although these were formally addressed to rulers, the wider readership who desired to incorporate the "kingly ideal" into their own moral lives was the audience primarily in mind. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 71-74, 149-150, R. T. Siebeneck, "The Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," *CBQ* 22 (1960) 176, Winston, 101.

¹⁴²Compare Prov 8:32-36. See Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 163.

¹⁴³English translation follows that by J. P. Weisengoff, "Death and Immortality in the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 3 (1941) 111.

¹⁴⁴P. Heinisch, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (EHAT 24; Münster: Aschendorff, 1912) 21ff, H. Bückers, *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938) 18-24, R. J. Taylor, "The Just: Their Condition and Reward According to the Book of Wisdom I-V," (2 vols.; Ph.D. Dissertation, Louvain, 1965) 2.62 all understand death to embrace in some way both physical and spiritual death.

R. Schütz, *Les idées eschatologiques du livre de la Sagesse* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1935) 60f, Winston, 107, F. R. Tennant, "The Teaching of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom on the Introduction of Sin and Death," *JTS* 2 (1901) 218, J. A. F. Gregg, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Cambridge

author of WisSol links death to ethical behavior: unrighteous actions lead to death, and by implication, a righteous life avoids death.

As Larcher has shown, the admonition contained in WisSol 1:13-15 utilizes the creation narratives of Gen 1-3 in explicit support of the claim that "God did not make (οὐκ ἐποίησεν) death," and that it is contrary to his desire for mankind (1:13, also 11:25-26).¹⁴⁵ God created mankind to share in his life (cf. 2:23) and created the cosmos to *assist* the life of man, not to contribute to his death (1:14). The γενέσεις of the world (LXX Gen 2:4) are σωτήριοι: they contribute to the life of mankind in a beneficial and positive manner, both in the present life and towards immortality.¹⁴⁶ This idea is restated in the negative in 14c: nothing in nature has the "poison of death" (φάρμακον ὀλέθρου).¹⁴⁷ Nothing in creation caused Adam to die. He experienced death as judgment for disobedience to God's commandment. The life-assisting function of nature proves that Death is not the sovereign of the world (1:14d).

The claim that "δικαιοσύνη γὰρ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν" brings to a close this section which began with the warning "do not court death by your error" (1:12). Both the context and scope of the discussion become clear. The creation narratives of Gen 1-3 are the setting of the discussion of righteousness and error. Immortality defines the life God created Adam to enjoy and death is that which resulted from Adam's transgression. While other passages in the book reveal the author's full acquaintance with Platonic ideas of the 'immortality of the soul,' it is crucial to note that the writer modifies the concept of the immortality of the soul by placing it in the context of the Genesis tradition *which links the life of humanity to obedience to God's command, to righteous living*.¹⁴⁸ In primal time and in present time,

Bible for Schools; Cambridge: CUP, 1909) xiv, 7, E. G. Clarke, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (CBC; Cambridge: CUP, 1973) 20, and Weisengoff, "Death," 113-115, see a reference only to spiritual death.

However, Larcher, 1.197-198 makes the point that physical death cannot be totally excluded because of the context of Genesis 1-3 in which these verse must be discussed. For a full discussion on death in WisSol, see Taylor, *The Just*, 2.43-66.

¹⁴⁵Larcher, 1.197. Understanding ζώντων in v13 to be a exclusive reference to mankind, following Heinisch, 22-33, Larcher, 1.198, Schütz, 55, and Weisengoff, "Death," 120.

¹⁴⁶This is the first occurrence of a theme that is fully developed in the third part of the book, that the cosmos is an agent of the Creator which helps and saves the righteous, thus assisting the Creator in his desire to bring the righteous to immortality. See Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 137-138.

¹⁴⁷φάρμακον is a neutral word for drug, ὀλέθρου is synonym for θάνατος. No plant or animal has the power to destroy man's spiritual destiny. Weisengoff, "Death," 122.

¹⁴⁸Larcher, 1.205.

righteous actions preserve the intention of the Creator that humanity should share in his immortality.

2.2 The Speech of the Ungodly - Their Reasoning and Lifestyle: WisSol 1:16-2:11

This section continues the theme that death (an eternal destiny apart from God and his life) is a deliberate choice made in opposition to the will of the Creator and the purpose of his creation. The ἀσεβεῖς (apostate Jews, not simply the ἄθεος, "ungodly," 1:16)¹⁴⁹ who experience this death do so as a result of their own choices and actions. Death is personified as a friend with whom the ungodly make a covenant (1:16, compare Isa 28:15) through their actions (1:11-12) and materialistic perspective (2:9).

The ungodly choose Death because "they reasoned unsoundly" (λογισάμενοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς, 2:1). The impious believe that physical death is the termination of a short and trouble-filled life (2:1, 3, 4).

WisSol 2:2¹⁵⁰

2 By mere chance did we come to be,
and thereafter we shall be as though we had never been,
for the breath (ἡ πνοή) in our nostrils
is but a puff of smoke (καπνός);
our reason is a mere spark within our throbbing heart.

This portrayal of humanity in WisSol 2:2 is in direct contradiction with the creation accounts of Gen 2:7. In contrast to WisSol 2:2, where ἡ πνοή is καπνός, in Gen 2:7 πνοήν ζωής is the breath of God.¹⁵¹ Thus, the "foolish reasoning" of the ungodly is a rejection of the portrayal of God's creation of Adam in Genesis. Their understanding of the origin and final end of man results in a resolve to live a selfish, hedonistic life (2:6-11).

¹⁴⁹See WisSol 3:10: The ἀσεβεῖς are "τοῦ κυρίου ἀποστάντες," "those who revolted from Yahweh," and Taylor, *The Just*, 1.36-42. W. Foerster, "ἀσεβής, σεμνός," *TDNT* 7.185-191, J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul* (SNTSMS 20; Cambridge: CUP, 1972) 95-96, Larcher, 1.212 and J. P. Weisengoff, "The Impious in Wisdom 2," *CBQ* 11 (1949) 45-60.

¹⁵⁰Translation by Winston.

¹⁵¹Weisengoff, "Impious," 41-42.

2.3 The Speech of the Ungodly - The Persecution of the Righteous Man: WisSol 2:12-20

The speech of the ungodly continues in WisSol 2:12-20 with their attack upon the "righteous man."¹⁵² The impious seek to destroy the righteous man because he actively opposes their manner of life and thus has become a burden to them (2.12-14).

WisSol 2:12

12 Let us lie in wait for the righteous man,
Because he is inconvenient to us
And opposes our actions;
He reproaches us for sins against the Law,
And accuses us of sins against our *paideia*.

12 καὶ ὄνειδίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα νόμου
καὶ ἐριφημίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα παιδείας ἡμῶν.

The parallel construction of the final phrases of v 12 makes clear the specific reason of this opposition: these works are *sins* against the Law and "our *paideia*."¹⁵³ The word νόμος stands in synonymous parallelism with παιδείας ἡμῶν. *Paidea* and Law are again linked in 6:17-18.¹⁵⁴ The Law is not a synonym for general wisdom or wise principles, but Torah in both its revelatory and regulatory aspects. The principal opponents of the righteous are not their non-Jewish neighbors, but apostate Jews.

The righteous man is said to claim to be "a wise man," to have "knowledge of God" (2.13). This knowledge is not observed knowledge, or knowledge gained through education, but revealed knowledge. The specific emphasis of this knowledge is the belief in the eschatological reward for righteousness, linked with the claim that he is a "son of God" (2.16). The knowledge of God that is of utmost importance in WisSol is the knowledge that

¹⁵²G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 48-66 has shown that the *Gattung* of this story of "the persecution and exaltation of the righteous person" is the wisdom tale. Compare the wisdom tales of Joseph and his brothers (Gen 37ff), the story of Ahikar, the book of Esther and Daniel 3 and 6.

¹⁵³Sin in Wisdom: ἁμαρτήματα - 2:12, 4:20, 11:23, 12:19, 17:3; ἁμαρτία - 1:4, 10:13; ἁμαρτωλός - 4:10, 19:13; ἁμαρτάνειν - 11:16, 12:2, 11, 14:31, 15:2, 15:13. With the possible exception of 10:13, "sin" in WisSol describes transgression against God which incurs his punishment and judgment.

As Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 99-104 has shown, in WisSol the concept of *paideia* does not have the anthropological orientation of Hellenism, but instead, is theocentric in character. God educates his people through his salvific works and through his Law, in order to draw them into a right relationship with him. He disciplines and tests them. See especially the references on 101.

¹⁵⁴Hellenism was defined by the idea of *paideia*. As Isocrates wrote, "those who share in our education have more right to be called Hellenes than those who have a common descent with us," thus declaring that being a 'Hellene' was not "a matter of descent but of disposition." Isocrates, *Panegy.* 4, 50, cited by Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.65.

leads to immortality (compare 5:7). The righteous man claims to possess insight into the way of life that leads to immortality. His own example confirms that this way is life lived under the guidance of Torah. Insight from God and a special relationship with God characterize the claims of the righteous man, mirroring two central possessions claimed by traditional Judaism - revelation (Torah) and election.

This knowledge of God and relationship with God is externalized in distinctive practices.

WisSol 2:15-16b

15 ...because his manner of life is unlike that of others
and his ways are strange.

16a We are considered by him as something base,

16b He abstains from our ways as from impurities.¹⁵⁵

15 ὅτι ἀνόμοιος τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἐξνλλαγμέναι αἱ τρίβοι αὐτοῦ.

16a εἰς κίβδηλον ἐλογίσθημεν αὐτῷ,

16b καὶ ἀθέχεται τῶν ὁδῶν ἡμῶν ὡς ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσιῶν

Verse 15 makes it clear that ἀμαρτήματα νόμου and ἀμαρτήματα παιδείας ἡμῶν refer to the transgressions against the Mosaic Torah.¹⁵⁶ The phrase in 15a, ἀνόμοιος τοῖς ἄλλοις, is a *comparatio compendiaria* and contrasts the righteous man against "others."¹⁵⁷ The righteous man stands in contrast to the accepted norm. The form of comparison shows that the righteous man is distinct not only from the impious who desire to destroy him, but distinct from the general expectations and way of life of "all others." In the eyes of society, the ways of this righteous man are "strange." The first part of the story of the righteous man ends with the resolve of the ungodly to make a trial of his faith through insult, torture, and finally death (2:17-20).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵The ET follows the RSV for 15-16a, and Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, for 16b.

¹⁵⁶Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 93.

¹⁵⁷"The real meaning is 'unlike to others's lives'" Reider, 67; see Winston, 120. In contrast, compare WisSol 7:3, where Solomon asserts his common origin with the rest of humanity: "My first sound, like that of all (ὁμοίαν πᾶσιν), was crying."

¹⁵⁸It is widely accepted that the picture of the righteous man in WisSol 2-5 is modeled closely upon the figure of the Servant of Yahweh in Isaiah. See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 62-65, J. Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TDNT* 5.678, M. J. Suggs, "Wisdom of Solomon 2:10-5, A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song," *JBL* 76 (1957) 26-33 and Skehan, "Isaias," 289-299. G. Ziener, "Der Verwendung der Schrift im Buche der Weisheit," *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 66 (1957) 139-143 has argued that, in addition to Isaiah, Ps 89 (LXX 88) may have influenced the composition of WisSol 2-5. For an extended analysis and bibliography, see Winston, 119-120.

WisSol 2:16 is the only occurrence of the word ἀκαθαρσία in the book of Wisdom.¹⁵⁹ The issue of impurity would further underscore the attitude of separatism with which the ungodly charge the righteous man. Similar charges against the Jews of "aloofness" and "particularistic behavior" is well attested in other writings of the period. Various sources show that traditional Jewish practices done in keeping with the Torah were viewed with both suspicion and contempt in the Hellenized world. Apart from the hostile myths that grew up about Judaism, the exclusive nature of Jewish practice and the sense of segregation which resulted clashed with the Hellenistic emphasis on *paideia* and "world-citizenship."

Excursus: Examples of charges of segregation and exclusivity against Judaism.

Hecataeus of Abdera (300 BCE)

"The sacrifices that he (Moses) established differ from those of other nations as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced an unsocial and intolerant mode of life."¹⁶⁰

Philostratus (c170-240 BCE), Life of Apollonius of Tyana

"For the Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans but against humanity; and the race that has made its own life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies. What sense then or reason was there in chastising them for revolting from us, whom we had better have never annexed?"¹⁶¹

Lysimachus (2nd or 1st century BCE?)

Moses instructed the Jews, upon expulsion from Egypt: "to show goodwill to no man, to offer not the best but the worst advice and to overthrow any temples and altars of the gods which they found."¹⁶²

Diodorus (1st century BCE) (reporting a view with which he does not agree)

"...having organized the nation of the Jews, had made their hatred of mankind into a tradition; and on this account had introduced utterly outlandish laws: not to break bread with any other race, nor to show them any goodwill at all."¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹In the LXX the emphasis of the term is usually placed upon cultic impurity. The cultic emphasis of ἀκαθαρσία would be particularly applicable to participation in the various pagan cults which the author of WisSol frequently assails. See F. Hauck, "καθαρός," *TDNT* 3.427-428 who writes that physical uncleanness by infection, disease, or sexual/reproductive functions could render one cultically unclean, and that the term ἀκαθαρτός is particularly used for activities connected with idolatrous cults.

¹⁶⁰M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Vol1-From Herodotus to Plutarch-1974; Vol 2-From Tacitus to Simplicius-1980) 1.28, no.11.

¹⁶¹Stern, 2.341, no.403.

¹⁶²Stern, 1.384, no.158.

¹⁶³Stern, 1.183, no.63.

Tacitus (56-120 CE)

"Moses introduced new religious practises quite opposed to those of all other religions. The Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand they permit all that we abhor."¹⁶⁴

"The Jews are extremely loyal toward one another, and always ready to show compassion, but toward every other people they feel only hate and enmity. They sit apart at meals and they sleep apart, and although as a race, they are prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; yet among themselves nothing is unlawful. They adopted circumcision to distinguish themselves from other peoples by this difference. Those who are converted to their ways follow the same practise, and the earliest lesson they receive is to despise the gods, to disown their country, and to regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little account."¹⁶⁵

Juvenal (c60-139 CE) in regard to proselytes

"Having been wont to flout the laws of Rome, they learn and practice and revere the Jewish law, and all that Moses handed down in his secret tome, forbidding to point the way to any not worshipping the same rites and conducting none but the circumcised to the desired fountain."¹⁶⁶

The presentation of the picture of the righteous man in WisSol shows that the author of the book is keenly aware of charges of exclusivism being brought against traditional Judaism, and probably in particular, against his own community in Alexandria. Yet he does not call his fellow Jews to follow a "less distinctive" lifestyle, to practise the "inner, spiritual" aspect of religion and to downplay the external manifestations of their faith which was being met with such contempt. Instead, he emphasizes the motivation for these distinctive practices, for those who are faithful to the covenant exercise this fidelity in the hope of the reward of immortality.

2.4 The Ungodly Fail to Understand What the Creator Intended for Mankind: WisSol 2:21-24

All the deductions of the ungodly prove to be unsound because of their ignorance of the Creator's intention for mankind, an intention which is only fully realized in the life that continues after physical death (2:21-22). Present righteousness results in immortality. As in 1:11-15, the link between righteousness and immortality is knowledge derived from an interpretation of Gen 1-3.

¹⁶⁴Stern, 2.25, no.281.

¹⁶⁵Stern, 2.26, no.281.

¹⁶⁶Stern, 2.103, no.301.

WisSol 2:23

23 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ
καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας αἰδιότητος¹⁶⁷ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν.

23 For God created man for incorruption,
and made him in the image of his own eternity.

What 1:12a states in the negative, "ὅτι ὁ θεὸς θάνατον οὐκ ἐποίησεν," 2:23a states in the positive, "ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ." The meaning of being created "in the image of God" (Gen 1:26-7) is defined as reflecting God's "own eternity."¹⁶⁸ This immortality is not an unconditional endowment, but a potential hope (2:22, 3:4, 6:18-19).

The seeming tension between endowment and hope is explained in WisSol 2:24.

WisSol 2:24

24 φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτόν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες.

24 But through the devil's envy death entered the world,
and those who belong to his party experience it.

The serpent who tempted the first pair to sin is here understood to be the devil, whose motivation was "envy."¹⁶⁹ As WisSol 1:11-15 already mentioned, death, that which is opposite of what God intended for Adam, resulted from the Fall. However, the text goes on to state that "those who belong to the devil's party" are the ones who "experience" death.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ αἰδιότητος is the reading in Rahlfs, and is attested in Cod. 248, Cod. 253, Methodius, *de Resurr.*, 11, Epiphanius, and most patristic writers (Athanasius *c. Apoll* 1.7) and followed by Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 2, J. Fichtner, *Weisheit Salomos* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament 2, No 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1938) 17. Ziegler reads ἰδιότητος, attested in A, A, B, (followed by Winston and Larcher 1.268). P. W. Skehan criticised Ziegler's edition in his review in *CBQ* 24 (1962) 439 for not incorporating αἰδιότητος.
¹⁶⁸ See Clarke, 27, similarly, Larcher, 1.267f.

In WisSol 1:11-15 and 9:2-3, we find the equation of "image of God" with the dominion given mankind over creation. For the concept of image as a "likeness which functions to represent authority," see 14:17, "When men were unable to do honor to these princes in their presence because of the remoteness of their dwelling, they formed a likeness (ἀνατυπωσάμενοι) of the distant face, and made a palpable image (ἐμφαῖ εἰκόνα) of the king they wished to revere." Compare also 13:13.

¹⁶⁹ A story of the Devil's envy is recounted in LAE 12-17. For further details regarding the identification of the serpent with Satan, and regarding the envy of the devil, see Reider, 70, Larcher, 1.270, Winston, 122. Attempts have been made to see 2:24 as a reference to Cain. See Gregg, 22 for details. However, Larcher in particular has shown that the context of this passage is the Creation and Paradise stories. WisSol 14:6 shows that the author is also aware of the "watcher tradition" of Gen 6.

¹⁷⁰ A. Dubarle, "Le péché originel dans les livres sapientiaux," *Revue Thomiste* 56 (1956) 597-619, and "La tentation diabolique dans le livre de la Sagesse (2,24)," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (Vatican City, 1964) 1:187-195 proposed another translation "and they who belong to his [the devil's] party put the world to the test," basing his argument primarily on the writings of Qumran. This interpretation has been refuted by S. Lyonnet, "Le sens de πειράζειν en Sap. 2:24 et la doctrine du péché originel," *Bib* 39 (1958) 27-33 and Larcher 1:272, and seems contrary to the emphasis that although the ungodly test the righteous, these testings are part of the paideia ordained by God.

This limits the full effect of death to the ungodly, those who make a covenant with death (1:16). In spite of Adam's sin and the experience of physical death, immortality is still attainable through righteousness. Mankind is faced with the same life or death choice which confronted Adam. Although the Fall breaks the continuity of incorruptibility, it did not destroy the hope of immortality. As Nickelsburg comments, death and immortality are "states in which the ungodly and the righteous participate here and now and which continue unbroken in spite of biological death."¹⁷¹ As the story of the righteous man reveals, those who live in faithfulness to the Torah will also live in immortality.

2.5 The Reward of the Righteous and the Judgment of the Ungodly: WisSol 3-5

The story of WisSol 2-5 ends with accounts of the vindication of the righteous man through the granting of immortal existence after physical death and of the realization by the apostates of their coming destruction. After physical death, the righteous enjoy the blessings of immortal life, which is described in some detail (3:1, 3, 7-8, 4:7, 5:15-16). They are described in covenantal terms: God's elect, his "holy ones," those who are faithful (3:9). Part of the eschatological reward of the "elect" is that they will rule the nations (3:8), showing the degree to which the nationalistic hopes of Judaism continue to color WisSol.

In the judgment of the ungodly (WisSol 5:17-23), God, depicted as the Divine Warrior, summons creation to assist him in the judgment of the impious. God will "make creation a weapon for the repulse of his foes" (5:17b) and "the cosmos will join him in all-out war against the madmen" (5:20b). Fire and water, as lightning, hail and floods, judge the wicked and the thrones of their authority. The judgment scene takes on an apocalyptic character, for the whole earth is laid waste and the structure of human authority and power is overturned (5:21-23).¹⁷² As Kolarcik points out:

¹⁷¹Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 176.

¹⁷²See J. J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17 (1977) 121-142 for an extended discussion on WisSol and apocalyptic. G. Kuhn, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches der Weisheit," *ZNW* 28 (1929) 334-341, discusses the apocalyptic character of WisSol 11-19. Note particularly the parallels he draws between new creation in WisSol 19:6 and Rev 21:1 on 337-8.

...the author has drawn a direct parallel between the original creation of God where the cosmos is emphasized as being wholesome, and the ultimate judgment where God reestablishes justice by overcoming ethical chaos as if in a renewed creation."¹⁷³

Creation, which functions to assist the elect towards immortality, also becomes an implement of God's judgment, both historically (as we shall see in the third half of the book)¹⁷⁴ and eschatologically (in the day of visitation).

2.6 The Righteous Man and Covenantal Nomism in WisSol 1-5

Our examination of WisSol 2:12-20 leaves us with a conclusion very different from scholars such as Ziener, who determined that the concept of the righteous man in WisSol embraces "both Jews as well as non-Jews."¹⁷⁵ The righteous man is not only described in general terms of moral character, philanthropy, justice towards neighbors, or acts of kindness and mercy such as one would expect in a Hellenistic catalogue of virtues.¹⁷⁶ Rather, in the Book of Eschatology, the righteous man is described as one who claims a special relationship with God, lives faithfully to Torah, and is actively critical of those who do not! In the present as well as in the future, he is numbered among the faithful, the elect, and the holy ones. The righteous man in WisSol is simply one who lives within the boundaries of Israel's covenant with God. As Taylor concludes: "To put all this in one phrase it could be said simply that he [the righteous man] is faithful to the Alliance."¹⁷⁷

Yet, in WisSol, the identity of the people of God cannot be summarized under the category of an ethnic community. Although the writer of WisSol is profoundly aware of a

¹⁷³M. Kolarcik, "Creation and Salvation in the Book of Wisdom," *Creation in the Biblical Traditions* (ed. R. Clifford and J. J. Collins; CBQMS 24; Washington DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1992) 101.

¹⁷⁴As we shall see, fire and water function in the judgment of the Egyptians in the description of the plagues in the third part of WisSol. Note that in Sib Or 3.712-13, another writing of Egyptian Judaism, creation is also depicted as fighting for Israel on the eschatological day.

¹⁷⁵Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 96-97. Ziener bases his argument on the address to all to live righteously (1:1, 6:1ff, 21, 24) and the theme of God's mercy to all (12:1, 22). However, the "address to kings" is a literary device, and the theme of God's mercy to all prepares the way for discussing his special mercies to Israel.

¹⁷⁶This is made all the more striking by the fact that the author does list the four Stoic virtues (self-control, courage, understanding, righteousness) as the fruit of Wisdom in WisSol 8:7. See J. C. Rylaarsdam, *Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, reprinted 1974) 65.

¹⁷⁷Taylor, 1.61.

We will discuss below the relationship between Pt 3 and Pt 1 of WisSol. We can at this point summarize the relationship as follows: as God was faithful to Israel in the Exodus, fulfilling his covenantal commitment, he will be faithful in the future to those who place their trust in him.

national election and mission (as we shall see in Pt 3), in Pt 1 both the ungodly and the righteous are "Jews." Within the ethnic dualism which separates Israel from the Gentiles is an ethical dualism which separates the righteous (those faithful to the covenant) from the ungodly (apostates).¹⁷⁸

2.7 Summary: Creation, Covenantal Nomism, and the Reward for Righteousness in WisSol 1-5

Through reflection upon the creation and Paradise stories, the writer of WisSol illustrates that the choice between life or death which confronted Adam still confronted humanity. These stories reveal God's intention that humanity would share in "the image of his eternity." All creation is oriented towards assisting mankind towards this goal. Yet, the story of Adam also reveals the penalty for disobedience: death. Against the backdrop of Gen 1-3, the author bases the hope of immortality upon behavior. Immortality is not a property shared by all humanity, just as death (in the sense of the final death) is not the inescapable lot of all. Rather, righteousness, that is righteous behavior, is immortal, while ungodliness brings a covenant with death.

The author defines the righteousness which leads to immortality within the confines of Jewish covenantal nomism. *Paideia* is not a term of "world-citizenship" but equivalent to the Torah, the Law of Israel's covenant with God. Conformity to the Torah results in a lifestyle that is distinct from "all others," that is concerned with purity, and that rebukes those who rebel from adhering to it. Such a lifestyle is not downplayed, but is justified as expressing the faith and faithfulness through which the eternal reward is secured.

In the end, it is an understanding of Torah which is the first step towards immortality, because such an understanding leads a man to live in the light of the promise and hope that is contained therein. Those who understand the mystery recorded in Genesis 1-3 choose to live righteously in the hope of this "reward of holiness." The knowledge of God that is of utmost importance in WisSol is the knowledge that leads to immortality. This

¹⁷⁸As A. Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris: Seuil, 1963) 367 remarks: "La ligne de démarcation entre le juste et l'impie passait cette fois à l'intérieur même d'Israël."

type of knowledge is not found in any of the various philosophical systems of Hellenism. *Rather, in the writings of the Torah is found the revelation of God's purpose in creation (God created humanity to share in his immortality), and in the commands and stipulations of the Torah is depicted the righteousness which is immortal (it is the one who is faithful to the covenant who is vindicated and rewarded with immortality).* The righteous Israelite understands the mystery of God in creation, that they are created for immortality, and will enjoy such after physical death. Therefore, they remain faithful to the covenant and because they seek righteousness are assisted by God's ordering of the cosmos. Torah faithfulness becomes the means by which God's purpose for mankind is attained, for those who are faithful to the covenant are rewarded with the immortality intended for Adam.

In contrast, the description of the ungodly is framed by a claim that they reasoned incorrectly. In the first instance (2:1) which introduces the description of the ungodly and their lifestyle, their reasoning about existence (2:1-5) contains within it an implicit rejection of Gen 2:7, and stands in contradiction to the description which immediately precedes it about God's intention and desire as Creator (1:13-15). In the last instance, which closes off the description of the ungodly, the ungodly are said to fail to understand the eschatological mystery of immortality which is based on an interpretation of humanity created in the image of God (2:20-23). In both instances the understanding of creation of which the impious are ignorant are interpretations of the first chapters of the written Torah. Those who misunderstand God's creation and his planned intention for humanity are led astray into apostasy. They deny God and his Law, oppress the righteous and in the end receive judgment. Unsound reasoning is reasoning that is not based on what is written in the Torah; and unjust living is living that does not honour the commands and stipulations of Torah.

Thus, the hope of immortality can only be fulfilled by those who understand the Torah and obey it. *Those who understand the Torah in its revelatory aspect willingly submit to it in its regulatory aspect.* Through this line of reasoning by the writer of WisSol, covenantal nomism becomes the prerequisite for sharing in the immortality which the Creator intended for Adam, and "image of God" becomes a covenantal term because it is

realized as a eschatological reward for fidelity. Creation theology and covenantal nomism are here inseparably linked, for God's purpose in creation is fulfilled within the boundaries of his covenant with Israel.

3. From Creation to Covenantal History: The Universal and Particular Aspects of Wisdom in WisSol 6-10

Like Part One (WisSol 1-5), the second section of the Wisdom of Solomon (WisSol 6-10) opens with a stylized "address to kings." Solomon ties in their responsibility to rule with the need to acquire wisdom (6:12-25) and as an example gives an account of how he came to acquire wisdom (ch 7-9). The concluding chapter of this section, which also serves to introduce Part 3 of the book, is an account of Wisdom's saving role in history. In the second part of WisSol, Wisdom is described first as a universal power, primarily by depicting her participation in creation. But then her particular function in the cosmos, as the saving power for Israel, is described through her involvement with Solomon, and the tracing of salvation history from Adam to Exodus. Much like Ben Sira did with the wisdom of God in Sir 24 and the glory of God in Sir 43-50, the writer of WisSol uses the universal to prepare for the particular. Creation tradition, through its association with Wisdom, becomes the initial step in highlighting Israel's election and unique purpose among the nations.

3.1 Adam and Kingship

Two very clear references to Adam tradition are found in Solomon's speech. He opens his speech by declaring that he is a common mortal, "a descendant of the first-formed child of the earth (καὶ γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου)" (WisSol 7:1, compare Gen 2:7, Sir 17:1, 33:10).¹⁷⁹ The second reference to Genesis tradition occurs in WisSol 9:1-4.

¹⁷⁹The term πρωτοπλάστος occurs also in 10:1. It is first attested in Jewish literature in WisSol, but the idea occurs also in a wide variety of other Jewish writings. See Philo *QE* 2:46; TestAb A:11, Sib Or 1:285, 3:25, 3Bar 4:9, TestSol D 1:2. See the discussion below of WisSol 10:1-2 for possible Platonic or Gnostic influences. The term γηγενοῦς is frequent in Philo. See Winston, 163.

- WisSol 9:1-4
- 1 O God of my fathers and Lord of mercy,
who hast made all things by thy word,
 - 2 and by thy wisdom hast formed man,
to have dominion over the creatures thou hast made,
 - 3 and rule the world in holiness and righteousness,
and pronounce judgment in uprightness of soul,
 - 4 give me the wisdom that sits by thy throne...

This passage bases kingship upon the dominion bestowed upon humanity in Gen 1:26-28 and is expanded to include ethical ideals for rulers (holiness, righteousness, uprightness of soul). Wisdom is directly linked to the creation of humanity. This general statement however, prepares the way for a shift to nationalistic concerns. After again declaring his mortality and therefore his need for wisdom, Solomon outlines the specific tasks ordained for him by God.

- WisSol 9:7-12
- 7 Thou hast chosen me to be king of thy people
And to be judge over thy sons and daughters.
 - 8 Thou hast given command to build a temple on thy holy mountain,
And an altar in the city of thy habitation,
A copy of the holy tent which thou didst prepare from the beginning.
 - 9 With thee is wisdom, who knows thy works
And was present when thou didst make the world,
And who understands what is pleasing in thy sight
And what is right according to thy commandments.
 - 10 Send her forth from the holy heavens
And from the throne of thy glory send her,
That she may be with me and toil,
And that I may learn what is pleasing to thee.
 - 11 For she knows and understands all things,
And she will guide me wisely in my actions
And guard me with her glory.
 - 12 Then my works will be acceptable,
And I shall judge thy people justly,
And shall be worthy of the throne of my father.

Israel's election from among the nations is recalled. In relationship to God, the Jews are called "thy people," "thy sons and daughters" (9:7, 12). The claims of Zion theology are reiterated in v 8 with the references to "thy holy mountain" and "the city of thy habitation." The temple in Jerusalem is a copy of the heavenly sanctuary which has existed from the beginning.¹⁸⁰ Solomon, having been commanded by God to build the temple, seeks for the

¹⁸⁰This is a good example of how the writer of WisSol can utilize Greek philosophy in the service of establishing a nationalistic claim. But it should also be remembered that the understanding of temples as reflections of heavenly or eternal archetypes is common in literature of the ANE. See Winston, 203-205.

assistance of wisdom. Because she has been active in creation from the beginning and dwells with God, she understands all eternal mysteries, including how the Creator desires his creatures to live. Thus Wisdom as creative power is linked with Torah, "what is pleasing in thy sight, thy commandments" (9:9). With her guidance and insight, Solomon will be able to fulfill his role as judge of the elect people and builder of the Temple.

Thus the general dominion over the earth given to Adam and his descendants is focused specifically upon Solomon's kingly rule over Israel. Wisdom, through which God "formed man to have dominion," is now to empower Solomon to judge God's people and build the dwelling place of God on Zion. The text clearly moves from wisdom's role in creation to wisdom's unique activity in Israel. Wisdom is the means by which Israel's special purpose is fulfilled and the Torah is the embodiment of her divine knowledge. Creation tradition becomes the introduction to two key ideas in Israel's national identity: her election from among the nations to be "the people of God," and the claim that God's dwelling place on earth is Zion.

3.2 Wisdom in Creation and Salvation History

Wisdom is described at the beginning of Part 2 of the Wisdom of Solomon in extremely broad terms. She is the source of immortality and authority (6:19-20), the "mother" of all blessing (7:12), the bearer of all knowledge of the cosmos (7:17-22). In WisSol 7:21-8:1, she is described first by 21 attributes and then with 5 metaphors.¹⁸¹ The terminology borrows from references in Greek philosophy to the Logos, or universal Reason (see especially 7:22, 24).

The writer establishes the universal dimension of wisdom particularly by attributing to her a role in creation (WisSol 7:17, 21-22, 8:1, 3-6, 9:9). She is "the fashioner of all things" (2:22, 8:6), "an initiate in the knowledge of God and an associate in his works" (8:4). Yet, juxtaposed with Wisdom's role in creation is her ongoing activity in salvation history, an interplay between her universal role and particularistic manifestation.

¹⁸¹See the extended discussion in Winston, 178-190.

WisSol 7:27

27 ...in every generation she passes into holy souls
and makes them friends of God, and prophets.

As we saw above, WisSol 9 ascribes to Wisdom the insight given in the building of the Temple in Jerusalem and the ability of Solomon to make wise judgments. This move towards ethnocentric interests reaches its climax in chapter 10, where Wisdom's role in the salvation history of the patriarchs and in the Exodus is recalled. Therefore, although Pt 2 begins with describing wisdom in her most universal dimension, it moves towards the description (extended to include all of Pt 3) of her particularistic manifestation as saving power for the elect people of God.

Following Solomon's prayer for wisdom in WisSol 9, the text goes on to describe the saving activity of Wisdom in history.

WisSol 9:17-18

17 Who has learned thy counsel, unless thou hast given wisdom
And sent thy holy Spirit from on high?
18 And thus the paths of those on earth were set right,
And men were taught what pleases thee,
And were saved by wisdom.

Humanity, created by God's wisdom (9:1-3) is in turn saved by wisdom (9.10).¹⁸²

Chapter 10 describes how Wisdom saved 7 primeval and patriarchal individuals and these descriptions prepare the way for the extended overview of the exodus and wilderness period in Part 3.

¹⁸²Kolarcik, 102-3. Thus, in a sense, as Kolarcik, 104, writes, "each saving moment is a recreation. Wisdom saves because she was present at creation and therefore knows how to restore the conditions of creation for the just."

Wisdom's activity in salvation history begins with a description of Adam.

WisSol 10:1-2

1 Αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου
μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξεν
καὶ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου
2 ἔδωκέν τε αὐτῷ ἰσχὺν κρατῆσαι πάντων.

1 Wisdom protected the first-formed father of the world,
when he alone had been created;
she delivered him from his transgression,
2 and gave him strength to rule all things.

The idea that Wisdom protected, guarded, or aided Adam has been opened to many diverse interpretations.¹⁸³ The most sound proposal seems to be to understand Wisdom's role in Adam's repentance, an idea found in various intertestamental and Rabbinic writings.¹⁸⁴ The repentance of the righteous is a central idea in WisSol (see 6:1-11, 11:21-12:2, 12:19-22, 15:2). Wisdom assisted in the restoration of Adam to his function as ruler of the world.

In regards to our study, this passage is another example of interpreting Adam as patriarch of Israel. The line of descendants moves from Adam through the patriarchs to the elect nation. Thus we see in WisSol the same duality as in the Genesis text themselves. When taken in isolation, the creation stories are not nationalistic. But in terms of the larger context, they are forward looking towards Israel's election.

This movement from primal time to salvation history is clear within WisSol 10. Following the opening description of Adam, Wisdom is then described as saving Noah (10:4), Abraham (10:5), Lot (10:6-8), Jacob (10:9-12), Joseph (10-14). Finally described is her deliverance of Israel in the Exodus under the leadership of Moses.

¹⁸³A. Dupont-Sommer, "Adam, 'Père du monde' dans la sagesse de Salomon (10, 1-2)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 119 (1939) 182-203 has interpreted πρωτόπλαστος (7:1, 10:1-2) as indicating a dualism between a celestial Adam and an earthly Adam, such as found in Philo. E. Peterson, "La libération d'Adam de l'Ανάγκη," *RB* 55 (1948) 119-214, Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus*, 112, D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1980) 437, sees a proto-gnostic description in which Wisdom assisted Adam to ascend back to the celestial realm and be restored as the heavenly archetype. The thesis by Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 57-61 that Wisdom kept Adam from transgressing is at odds with how the writer twice referred to Adam's transgression in Part 1, as discussed above.

¹⁸⁴See LAE, *b. Erub.* 18b, *Gen. Rab.* 20:11, 24:6. Compare Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3:23, Tertullian *De Paenitentia* 12.

WisSol 10:15-21

- 15 A holy people and blameless race
wisdom delivered from a nation of oppressors.
- 16 She entered the soul of a servant of the Lord,
and withstood dread kings with wonders and signs.
- 17 She gave to holy men the reward of their labours;
she guided them along a marvelous way,
and became a shelter to them by day,
and a starry flame through the night.
- 18 She brought them over the Red Sea,
and led them through deep waters;
- 19 but she drowned their enemies,
and cast them up from the depth of the sea.
- 20 Therefore the righteous plundered the ungodly;
they sang hymns, O Lord, to thy holy name,
and praised with one accord thy defending hand,
- 21 because wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb
and made the tongues of babes speak clearly.

The recollection of history which began with Adam culminates in the salvation of "a holy people and blameless race." For the righteous (v 20), wisdom was a deliverer and a guide. She is equated with the cloud and the pillar of fire, and as the saving power at the deliverance at the Red Sea. As we noted above, this section serves as an introduction to Part 3 of the Wisdom of Solomon, which is entirely concerned with the wilderness journey into the land of promise.

Thus, the thematic development of Part 2 is clear. Wisdom is described, particularly by her association with creation, in the broadest and most universal manner. However, as the section moves towards its conclusion, wisdom is seen as the savior of the patriarchs and finally of "a holy people and blameless race." The universal dimension of wisdom serves as preparation for the particularistic claims upon wisdom made by Israel. The creation of the world and the creation of humanity serves as the introduction to election and salvation history.

4. Cosmos, Election and the Salvation of the People of God in WisSol 11-19

4.1 The Creator: Just King of the World and Father to his Elect.

The author of WisSol, in spite of his insistence upon the universal justice and love of God towards all that he has created, in no way lessens the privileged status of Israel as a people elected from among the nations. The veracity of this statement becomes fully attested as we examine the third part of WisSol.

In WisSol 12:12-18, the author of WisSol argues that God cares for *all* and judges righteously, and that patience and forbearance are the manner in which he manifests his power in the world. However, WisSol 12:3-11 describes how God's judgment of the Canaanites, an "accursed race from the beginning" (12:11) with "detestable practices" hated by God (12:4), "enemies of thy servants and deserving of death" (12:20), came as a series of warnings in order to give the Canaanites opportunity to repent (12:10). Yet, in the midst of this description of the philanthropy of God towards all, Palestine can still be referred to as "thy holy land" (12:3), "the land most precious of all to thee" (12:7), and Israel can still be described in terms of "a worthy colony of God's children (θεοῦ παίδων)" (12:7), and the "righteous" (12:9). This distinction between the world, loved and justly governed by God, and Israel, elected into a special relationship with God, is even more explicit in WisSol 12:19-22. The privileged status accorded Israel is also attested by the titles υἱός or παῖδιον, the most common designations for Israel in the third part of WisSol, particularly in contexts where Israel is being contrasted to her enemies.¹⁸⁵ This distinction is dramatized by the differences in the experience of God's judgment: Israel experiences fatherly discipline (παιδεύω - WisSol 11:9-10, 12:21), but her enemies are scourged (μαστιγόω) *ten thousand times more* (WisSol 12:22, compare 11: 10).¹⁸⁶ Whereas the punishment of God upon

¹⁸⁵See 12:19, 21, 16:10, 26, 18:4, 13 (υἱός), and 12:7, 20, 16:21, 19:6 (παῖς). As these references indicate, sonship makes Israel confident in placing faith in Yahweh, knowing that they are a special object of his love and mercy. 9:7 refers to the people of Israel as God's sons and daughters. See B. Byrne, 'Sons of God' - 'Seed of Abraham' (AnaBib 83; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979) 38-46 for a complete discussion on sonship in WisSol.

¹⁸⁶See Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance*, 351, Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 79.

Israel's enemies is wrath which leads to their destruction, God's punishment of Israel is an act of mercy which leads her back into covenantal fellowship.

A number of other terms are used by the author of WisSol to describe Israel's election and sonship.¹⁸⁷ The Israelites are the "people of God" (9:7, 12, 12:19, 15:14, 16:2, 20, 18:7, 19:5, 22), "holy ones" (ὅσιος - 10:15, 17; 18:1, 5, 9, ἅγιος - 17:2, 19:2),¹⁸⁸ a "blameless race" (σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον - 10:15), "the righteous" (οἱ δίκαιοι - 10:20, 11:14, 12:9, 16:17, 23, 18:7, 20).¹⁸⁹ These titles which speak of election and covenantal faithfulness are used to contrast Israel to her pagan enemies, making it is difficult to maintain the position as some scholars have that the writer of WisSol is attempting to blur the boundaries between the faith of Israel and the idea of the 'just man' of the Hellenistic world of the time.

4.2 Covenant, Election and Ethnic Identity

One should also note the emphasis upon the oaths and covenants given Israel by Yahweh (12:21, 18:6, 21-25). Israel's election and covenantal faithfulness in the midst of persecution is witnessed in 18:7-9, which describes the first Passover in Egypt (Ex 12). In these verses, the covenantal faithfulness of Israel in Egypt is remembered as placing trust in God's promises, the offering of sacrifices, the observance of the divine Law, and worship.¹⁹⁰ Is this not at least implicitly a call to the same expressions of covenant fidelity for those presently in Egypt to whom WisSol is addressed?¹⁹¹

A major theme of the third part of the book is the concept of *paideia*. Israel learns about God and his ways through observation of the judgment of Egypt and through their own limited and brief experiences of suffering (WisSol 11:9, 16:11-13, 16:6-7, 26, 28). As noted above, *paideia* is the mark of Israel's sonship before Yahweh, one of the outstanding blessings of her election, and a chief aspect of that which distinguishes her from the nations.

¹⁸⁷As a number of detailed examinations of these terms exist, we will only note their occurrences. See P. Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluß von Philo und Josephus* (Hamburg: Herbert Reich, 1954) 137-143 for a summary of ideas of Israel's election in Hellenistic-Jewish literature, and especially p. 140 for WisSol, where he lists the different occurrences of the terms here discussed, and Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 79-81.

¹⁸⁸Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 80-81. See 6:10, "οἱ γὰρ φυλάξαντες ὁσίως τὰ ὅσια ὁσιωθήσονται," "For they will be made holy who observe holy things in holiness....," and compare 3:9 and 4:15 where the term stands in parallel to 'elect,' and 7:27.

¹⁸⁹Reider, 155, defines the term δίκαιος in 12:19 as "the strict observer of the ceremonial law as opposed to philanthropos."

¹⁹⁰The term "divine Law" (τὸν τῆς θεϊότητος νόμον) is probably, to quote Reider, 207-208 "an affectation of our author for the more simple *theos*," that is, 'the Law of God.'

Israel's cult has a universal and cosmic dimension, a fact highlighted by the description of Aaron's robe as bearing a depiction of the cosmos as he resisted the plague in the wilderness (WisSol 18.21-25). Perdue writes: "Thus, he seems to present Aaron as a figure of the intercession of the cosmos on behalf of the righteous."¹⁹² The cosmos as "fellow-ministrant" in the cult of Israel restates an important theme in WisSol, that the cosmos assists the righteous. The fact that Aaron is a cosmic representative *in his function as high priest of Israel's cult* highlights the particularism of the cosmic scope. In a similar way in which the universal truth of Wisdom is manifest in the revelation and commands of the Torah, so the worship of God is focused and actualized in the cult of Israel. As in Ben Sira, the particular is given universal significance.

4.3 Israel's Universal Mission

Yet, God's election of Israel does not mean that his salvation is limited only to ethnic Israel. The clearest statement of this idea is found in WisSol 18:4. This verse is the conclusion to the fifth antithesis, which contrasts the plague of darkness sent upon the Egyptians with the light provided to Israel in the Exodus and her wilderness journey. The principle of *talion* is clearly in force.

WisSol 18:4

4 For their enemies deserved to be deprived of light and imprisoned in darkness, those who had kept thy sons imprisoned, through whom the imperishable light of the law (τὸ ἀφθαρτον νόμου φῶς) was to be given to the world.

Israel was the agent through which the Law was to be revealed to the world (compare Isa 42:5, 49:6, where Israel herself is the "light"). This passage shows that the covenantal

Many commentators (i.e. Larcher, 3.992) have claimed that the cultic and ceremonial aspects of the Law are basically ignored in the book, and that when mention is made of the cult, it is done so in a "spiritualized" manner (although few attempt to define the term). This assertion does not seem justified in light of the passages we have discussed above, where clear reference is made to the celebration of Passover, and the efficacy of Aaron's ministry. It must be noted that the author makes reference to the Temple in both Pt 1 (4:14) and in Pt 2 (9:8). Note also how he inveighs so heavily against cults other than his own (13:1-15:19).

¹⁹¹Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 224.

¹⁹²Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 260 n. 201, see also Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance*, 352-354. Compare Philo's similar description of Aaron's robe in *Spec* 1:66-97.

nomism that includes with it the concept of Israel as an elect nation does not need to imply that the salvation and the forgiveness of God is limited only to Israel. Yet, in recognizing the universalism of this passage, too many scholars have failed to equally emphasize the fact that salvation light is the Torah, and it is through Israel alone that this light shines.¹⁹³

How central to the theological message of WisSol is the idea of universal mission contained in 18:4? Is this mission one of the "controlling purposes" of the book, as many scholars have suggested.¹⁹⁴ When the context of WisSol 18:4 is examined, the emphasis upon Israel's universal mission is small in comparison to the theme of Israel's special status. It must be remembered that the majority of this long antithesis concerns those from whom light was deprived (Israel's enemies) and those to whom light was given (Israel herself). Only in the final verse does the emphasis shift from Israel being a recipient of light to include the idea of her being an agent through whom light is given. Furthermore, as we shall examine below, the antithesis is itself one among seven which contrast the fate of the Egyptians with the destiny of Israel. Thus, while the universalism of 18:4 is to be acknowledged, it should be interpreted in relationship to the overall particularism in which it is found. Thus, we conclude with J. C. Rylaarsdam:

The Wisdom of Solomon does not fail to recognize that the Jew has an inestimable advantage in possessing this key to all existence [the Torah] as a special gift. For him alone does the universal law become concrete and articulate in the material Law... God's sons, Israel, were the mediators by whom the world would receive the light of the Law (18:4). Like Divine Wisdom, the Law is the salvation of the world; but without the Law Wisdom cannot be understood - hence Israel's mission, for it alone knows the Law. There is, thus, an acute awareness of national election.¹⁹⁵

4.5 Creation as an Agent of the Creator

In the third part of the Wisdom of Solomon, the author employs the Greek literary technique of syncrisis ("comparison") to highlight the distinction between God's treatment

¹⁹³The passage gives no specifics on the "conversion" of Gentiles. For the law as Israel's Law in this passage, see Larcher, 3.992 and Reider, 205. Compare T. Levi 14:4-8.

¹⁹⁴See particularly Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 142, 154.

¹⁹⁵Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 42.

of Israel and Israel's enemies.¹⁹⁶ Seven antitheses, contrasting the plagues sent upon Egypt with salvific acts experienced by Israel in the Exodus, are used to illustrate the central theme stated in WisSol 11:5, "For by those very things through which their enemies were punished, they in their want were benefited..."¹⁹⁷ This theme about God's saving acts towards Israel in the Exodus is restated in WisSol 18:8, "For by the same means by which thou didst punish our enemies thou didst call us to thyself and glorify us." The antitheses have been studied in detail in monographs and commentaries on WisSol¹⁹⁸ so there is no need for us at this time to apply ourselves to a complete survey of them. What is important for our study is not so much the details of each miracle of the Exodus, but the theology of creation that underlies this reflection upon the Exodus: God the Creator uses creation as a means of punishing Israel's enemies and as a means of blessing and saving Israel.

God the Creator

The writer of WisSol portrays God as an all-powerful Creator (in contrast to lifeless idols-13:3,5, 15:16)¹⁹⁹ who loves all that he created. The writer makes a special point to affirm the mercy and patience of God towards all humanity (WisSol 11:24-12:1). God's creation is a manifestation of his love and therefore he teaches all with a desire for repentance.²⁰⁰ God does not love Israel to the exclusion of all others. Yet, when the statements of the Creator's love for all are read in context, this universal love is not affirmed

¹⁹⁶A. G. Wright, "The Structure of Wisd. 11-19," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 28-34 and Siebeneck, "Midrash," 176-182 both understand the genre to be 'midrash.' Although the intention of the section is the same as midrash, both Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 98 and Winston, 227-228, following the work of F. Focke, *Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos* (FRLANT 5; Göttingen, 1913) 12-16, have clearly shown the literary structure to be syncretism.

¹⁹⁷Translation by Winston.

¹⁹⁸See Winston, 10-12, 224-228, as well as Wright, "The Structure," 29-32 and Larcher, 1.120-123, 3.651ff., Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, and Ziener, *Begriffssprache*.

¹⁹⁹For more detailed investigation into this important theme in WisSol, see Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 213-222. Siebeneck, "Midrash," 176-7 goes as far as to say that in WisSol 11-19, "the basic issue is monotheism and idolatrous polytheism." Certainly, the polemic against idolatry serves as a central point in the author's defense of Hebrew Wisdom.

²⁰⁰Winston, 231. Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 81-82, has argued that the author of WisSol depicts a covenant of God with creation as a whole, thus concluding "Der Verfasser des Weisheitsbuches überträgt hier die Privilegien Israels auf alle Menschen, ja auf die gesamte Schöpfung." Ziener's oft-repeated assertions seem to ignore the immediate context in which these statements of the universal love of the Creator appear. Both the passage preceding and the passage following WisSol 11:24-12:1 reassert the privileges of Israel over against the nations, and never hint at a "transference" of the blessings of covenant and election.

to the exclusion of Israel's election and her special relationship with God. In fact, as we examine next, the Creator summons the entire cosmos to protect Israel and to assist her in the fulfillment and completion of her divine mission and destiny. The writer of WisSol affirms on the one hand the Creator's mercy and goodness towards all humanity while on the other hand highlighting his special relationship with Israel.

Creation as an Agent of Punishment and Blessing

The aspect of creation theology in which the author of WisSol makes a unique contribution is his extensive development of the idea of how the Creator employs the cosmos to punish the unrighteous and to bless the righteous.

WisSol 11:17-18, 20

17 For thy all-powerful hand,
which created the world out of formless matter,
did not lack the means to send upon them a multitude
of bears, or bold lions,
18 or newly created unknown beast full of rage...
20 Even apart from these, men could fall at a single breath
when pursued by justice and scattered by the breath of thy power.
But thou hast arranged all things by measure and number and weight.

God created the world ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.²⁰¹ As the Creator, he has the right and power to employ anything which he has created to fulfil his will, or even to create new animals to serve him as instruments of justice. Yet, although the Creator can use his creation to exercise his judgment, he can act apart from creation and dispense punishment directly. God's judgment is always in proportion to the sense of balance with which he created the cosmos and is never arbitrary, capricious, or by chance.²⁰²

²⁰¹The immediate background of this phrase is enigmatic. On the one hand the phrase could be, in the words of R. Marcus, "an elegant rephrasing of Gen 1:2," (cited by R. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co. 1952) 138. On the other hand, it could reflect the Platonic idea of the pre-existence of matter (which in Platonic thought was shaped by the demiurge into the cosmos, a concept far removed from the Creator depicted in WisSol). See Gregg, 110, Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law*, 138, Reider, 145, and particularly for parallels in Greek literature, Winston, 233 and his article "The Book of Wisdom's Theory of Cosmogony," *HR* 11:2 (1971) 185-202. Larcher, 3.676-680 has a complete summary and discussion of existing viewpoints.

²⁰²This is the emphasis of WisSol 11:20c. Compare Job 28:15, Isa 40:12, 26, and T. Naph. 2:3 "for by weight and measure and rule was all the creation made." Winston, 234 lists a number of other parallels.

Although all seven antitheses depict God using creation as an agent for punishing the unrighteous and blessing the righteous, the fourth antithesis (WisSol 16:15-29) develops the theme with the most specific detail.²⁰³

WisSol 16:16-25

- 16 For the ungodly, refusing to know thee,
were scourged by the strength of thy arm,
pursued by unusual rains, hail and relentless storms,
and utterly consumed by fire.
- 17 For - most incredible of all - in the water,
which quenches all things,
the fire had still greater effect,
for the cosmos defends the righteous.
- 18 At one time the flame was restrained,
so that it might not consume the creatures sent against the ungodly,
but that seeing this they might know
that they were being pursued by the judgment of God;
- 19 and at another time even in the midst of water it burned
more intensely than fire,
to destroy the crops of the unrighteous land.
- 20 Instead of these things thou didst give thy people the food of angels,
and without their toil thou didst supply them from heaven with
bread ready to eat,
providing every pleasure and suited to every taste.
- 21 For thy sustenance manifested thy sweetness toward thy children;
and the bread, ministering to the desire of the one who took it,
was changed to suit every one's liking.
- 22 Snow and ice withstood fire without melting,
so that they might know that the crops of their enemies
were being destroyed by the fire that blazed in the hail
and flashed in the showers of rain;
- 23 whereas the fire, in order that the righteous might be fed,
even forgot its native power.
- 24 For the creation, serving thee who hast made it,
exerts itself to punish the unrighteous,
and in kindness relaxes on behalf of those who trust in thee.
- 25 Therefore at that time also, changed into all forms,
it served thy all-nourishing bounty,
according to the desire of those who had need...

An important aspect of the understanding of creation in WisSol deals with the concept of "miracles" themselves. The writer desired to show that miracles were not contradictions of the natural order of the cosmos established by the creator.²⁰⁴ To do so, he

²⁰³In 16:15-16, God's hand of judgment (v 15), or strength of his arm (v 16), is equated with the elements employed in judgment: rain, hail, storms, fire. In this sense, the forces of nature are closely related to the Creator himself. See Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 135, (where in n. 2 & 3 he lists comparisons with the OT use of "hand" and "arm" of Yahweh).

²⁰⁴The relationship between past creation and historical occurrences of the miraculous was also a concern of Rabbinic Judaism. *Gen. Rab.* 5:5 says "all the miracles recorded in Scripture were created during the six days of creation by the decree of God in agreement with every natural object at the time He brought it into

employed the Stoic idea of the transmutation of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire. This theory allows the transference of the quality of one element to another. The concept of the interchange of the elements is attributed to Pythagoras, was developed by the Neo-Pythagoreans and then adopted into the Stoic tradition of the first century BCE.²⁰⁵ The Stoics, attempting to understand divination and stories of miracles, "made especial use of this principle to show that the gods could accomplish anything without violating the laws of nature."²⁰⁶ Miracles are an alteration of the usual effects of natural elements, but these are fully in keeping with the idea of the harmony of the cosmos. As Goodrick put it, miracles are "not a derangement but a rearrangement of the harmony of the universe."²⁰⁷

The miracles of the Exodus are seen to reflect this idea of the interchange of the elements. Miracles occur because God acts within, but also upon, the cosmic harmony of the universe. In the words of Reese, the writer of WisSol "took cognizance of the demands of scientific progress by explaining how belief in historical divine interventions could be reconciled with contemporary understanding of order in the cosmos."²⁰⁸ He illustrates his apologetic for miracles by depicting nature as a musical instrument ("exerts" and "relaxes" in WisSol 16:24 refers to a stringed instrument; WisSol 19:18 describes nature as a harp).²⁰⁹

In 16:16-25 as elsewhere in WisSol, the plagues are considered to have occurred simultaneously, perhaps to dramatize the harmonic working of the cosmos in judgment.

existence." *Ex. Rab.* 21:6 explains that the motivation for this is from "a desire to reconcile the possibility of miracles with God's expressed promise to observe the laws which He has established in the universe." Cited by J. P. M. Sweet, "The Theory of Miracles in the Wisdom of Solomon," in *Miracles* (ed. C. F. D. Moule; London: Mowbray, 1965) 117.

²⁰⁵Note in particular Epictetus (c.55-c.135 CE) III.24, cited by Gregg, 182 and Reider, 217. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 99-100, Winston, 324-325, and Sweet, "Miracles," 115-126. Neither στοιχείον (elements) nor μεθαρμόζω (interchange) occur in any other writing of the LXX.

²⁰⁶Winston, 325.

²⁰⁷A. T. S. Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom* (Oxford Church Bible Commentaries; London: Rivingtons, 1913) 251.

²⁰⁸Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 147. See also p. 37.

²⁰⁹Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law*, 184-185. See Grant for the possibility that the author of WisSol is dependent upon the Stoic Cleanthes, who also uses a musical image to describe natural phenomena. Sweet, "Miracles," 115, explains the musical analogy of 19:18: "just as musical notes always have the same sound but in a melody can be longer or shorter in rhythm, so the elements remain in essence what they are, but strengthen or weaken their effect according to the place given them by God in the rhythm of his wonderful activity." See also Reider, 194, and Ziener, *Begriffssprache*, 148-159, who reviews in detail the concept of the miraculous in Homer, Aristophanes, Hippocrates, Xenophanes, Anaxagoaras, Democritus, Aristotle, Epicureanism, Stoicism, Palestinian Judaism, and Philo. Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 303 writes "The author of WisSol felt obliged to provide remarkable explanations for his readers in order to make them clear, living as they obviously did with the hellenistic idea of physics, the miracle of the exodus event."

The effect of fire was at one time restrained in order not to destroy the animals sent to plague the Egyptians (16:18), but at another time was intensified so that the thunderbolts of lightning were not quenched by the rain and hail through which they passed and could accomplish the destruction of crops (16:17, 19, 22). At the same time, the snow and ice sent with similar intention were made to withstand the flames of fire, so that they did not melt (16:22).

For the righteous, this varying of the effects of fire and water has beneficial results. Fire, used to cook the manna (described as snow), "forgot its native power" so that "the righteous might be fed" (16:23). Furthermore, the manna itself "changed to suit everyone's liking," conforming to the form and taste that each Israelite desired (16:20-21, 25).

WisSol 19:18-21 takes up again the theme of the refashioning of creation in the miracles of the Exodus, the musical analogy (as we noted above) this time depicting nature as a harp.

18 For the elements changed places with one another,
as on a harp the notes vary the nature of the rhythm,
while each note remains the same.

Without disrupting the harmony of the cosmos, God combines the elements in a new fashion, thus a "new creation" (19:6), in order that the righteous would be saved and the ungodly punished. "For land animals (the Israelites and their cattle) were transformed into water creatures (for they passed through the Red Sea), and creatures that swim moved over to the land (frogs left the water and covered the land of Egypt)" (19:19).²¹⁰ "Fire even in water retained its normal power, and water forgot its fire-quenching nature" (19:20). Although the plague of hail (water) and lightening (fire) occurred simultaneously, they did not negate each other.²¹¹ Furthermore, the plague of fire did not destroy the plague of frogs, nor did fire melt the manna ("easily melted kind of heavenly food") when used to cooked it, although the manna quickly melted in the morning sun (19:21).²¹²

²¹⁰Gregg, 188, Reider, 223.

²¹¹Philo writes in *Mos.* 1.20: "The thunder-bolts, shooting through the hail, neither melted it nor were put out themselves, for all the incompatibility of their natures."

²¹²P. Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," *Bib* 45 (1964) 509, concludes from the mention of "heavenly food" that the reference in 19:21 points to an eschatological concept of Paradise. Larcher, 3.1092, following Beauchamp's eschatological interpretation, comments:

Ps-Solomon's explanation of the miraculous defends the saving actions of God on behalf of Israel. In 16:16-25, two important aspects of the author's theological perception of creation emerge. First is the statement that creation serves (ὕπηρετέω) its Maker, which is repeated twice in these verses. (The same statement is found also in WisSol 19:6, a passage to be discussed below). Creation is personified as an envoy who carries out the will of the Creator. The approach to his apologetic for miracles is instructive for the understanding of the relationship between Hellenism and Judaism in the mind of the writer. His desire is to explain the miracles of the Exodus in the framework of language and thought of the philosophy of science of the Hellenistic world.

The author of WisSol subordinates the Hellenistic understanding of natural science to a personal Creator who is active in the world and who utilizes his power as creator to save his elect people. The cosmos is an agent of the Creator, to command according to his will. The Jewish understanding of monotheism, of a self-disclosing and presently-acting Creator, stands firmly in WisSol over-against the cross-currents of other religions and philosophical systems present in Alexandria.²¹³ Furthermore, the Jewish understanding of election, of Israel as a nation which stands in unique relationship to the Creator, is affirmed over-against the Hellenistic values of pluralism and world citizenship. Thus, the central beliefs of Israel's traditional faith were not compromised by the use of an understanding of natural science drawn from the Hellenistic world.

Secondly, as witnessed in the plagues sent upon Egypt and the salvific miracles of the Exodus, the cosmos functions to punish the unrighteous while defending the righteous.²¹⁴ 16:24 states that "the cosmos defend *the righteous*; creation... in kindness relaxes *on behalf of those who trust in thee*." The context (the salvation of Israel) indicates

"...non seulement le jeu normal des éléments sera modifié ou changé à volonté en faveur des justes, mais encore ceux-ci auront à leur disposition un aliment céleste ou divin, leur assurant une vie perpétuelle. La première réalité est préfigurée par les miracles de l'Exode, la seconde par la condition paradisiaque." Philo *Mos* 2:266-267 compares the giving of manna with the creation of the world. For references to the idea of the heavenly bread as an eschatological reward, see Winston, 332. Although the eschatological interpretation is possible, we must question whether the intention of this verse is really eschatological. Rather, the eschatological hope of Pt 1 of WisSol is grounded in the historical faithfulness of God to Israel in Pt 3.

²¹³See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 59-61 and Reider, 194.

²¹⁴Compare Judges 5:20, where the "stars" assisted Israel in her fight against Sisera.

that the righteous, "those who trust" (πεποιθέναι) in Yahweh (v 24, τοὺς σοὶ πιστεύοντας in v 26), is a reference to the ones who are faithful to the covenant.²¹⁵ Cosmos and covenant are hereby linked, for the saving agency of creation is seen to be included in the sphere of Israel's covenantal benefits.

The writer of WisSol explains the *phenomena* of the miracles of the Exodus with reference to Hellenistic science without sacrificing one iota the central theological tenets of Israel's covenant nomism and national election. He employs Hellenistic philosophy not to universalize the concepts of salvation, election and covenant, but rather to defend the distinctive claims made by the account of the history of Israel in her scriptures.

4.6 The Exodus as New Creation: WisSol 19:6-12

Following the seventh antithesis, which ends with the words "that thy people might experience an incredible journey, but they themselves [the Egyptians] might meet a strange death" (WisSol 19:5), the writer describes the miracles of the exodus in terms of the recreation of the cosmos.²¹⁶ This final example of the relationship between cosmos and salvation history is of particular interest, for as can be clearly seen through side by side comparison, the author of WisSol has shaped his account of the Exodus so that it is parallel to the accounts of creation in Genesis 1-2.²¹⁷

²¹⁵See Garlington, 73, "Here πεποιθέναι plus the dative emphasizes the on-going reliance on the person of Yahweh of those who already acknowledge him as the true God."

²¹⁶Kuhn, "Beiträge," 334ff, basing his interpretation on the parallels he has noted between Wisdom and the Book of Revelation, understands the refashioning of creation in 19:6 to be a reference to Isa 65:17, and therefore WisSol 19:6f is a type of the future New Creation. Although in light of the eschatology of Pt 1 of WisSol such an interpretation is a possibility, we must ask where the text itself indicates that the history of the Exodus is to be understood as futuristic typology. The *Urzeit/Endzeit* theme in apocalyptic never leaves doubt as to its futuristic orientation. Without such clear indicators in WisSol 19:6f, it is better to emphasize the historical orientation that is clear in the passage. See Sweet, "Miracles," 119-120 for discussion, although his attempt to make *all* the eschatology of WisSol fit under the category of a "this-worldly" realized eschatology results in an awkward reading of WisSol 5.

²¹⁷The comparison of WisSol 19:6-12 with Gen1-2 incorporates the work of Beauchamp, "Le salut," 491-526, Larcher, 3.1054-1057, and Winston, 324-325. The writer of WisSol inverts the order of the production of animals. Beginning with the earth, he follows what he considers to be a more natural and logical order: land-plants, land-animals, other elements.

WisSol 19:6-12

Theme

(6)For the whole creation
in its nature was fashioned anew,
complying with thy commands,
that thy children might be kept
unharmd.

Acts of Creation

(7)The cloud was seen
overshadowing the camp,

and dry land emerging
where water had stood before,

an unhindered way out of the Red Sea,
and a leafy plain out of the raging waves,

Transition

(8)where those protected by thy hand
passed through as one nation,
after gazing on marvelous wonders.

(9)For they ranged like horses,
and leaped like lambs,
praising thee, O Lord,
who didst deliver them.

(10)For they still recalled
the events of their sojourn,

Acts of Creation

how instead of producing animals
the earth brought forth gnats,

and instead of fish the river
spewed out vast numbers of frogs.

Transition

(11)Afterward,

Act of Creation

they saw also a new kind of birds,
when desire led them to ask for
luxurious food; (12)for, to give them
relief, quails came up from the sea.

Gen 1:2: "The Spirit of God hovered
over the face of the waters."

Gen 2:6: "A mist went up from the earth and
watered the whole face of the ground."

Gen 1:9: "Let the waters below the
heavens be gathered into one place,
and let the dry land appear."

Gen 1:11-13: After the appearance of
the land on the third day, God ordains
that it should be filled with vegetation.

Gen 1:24 "Let the earth bring forth living
creatures" (Gen 2:19 "And out of the ground
the LORD God formed every beast of the field...")

Gen 1:20 "Let the waters teem with
swarms of living creatures..."

Gen 1:20 "let birds fly above the
expanse of the earth in the open heavens..."

In WisSol 19:7, Israel before the Red Sea is depicted in terms that recall the initial activity of creation. The overshadowing cloud (σκιάζουσα, v 7) recalls the cloud which stood between Israel and the pursuing Egyptians at the Red Sea (Ex 14:19) and the cloud of glory over the tent of meeting (Num 9:18-22; 10:36; LXX - σκιάζειν/σκιάζουσα). As we

have seen previously, Ben Sira also drew a correspondence between the primordial cloud/Spirit (Gen 2:6, 1:2) and the cloud of glory.²¹⁸

The description of the "dry land" appearing for Israel to cross over parallels in vocabulary and description the separation of the land from the waters in Gen 1:9.²¹⁹ Furthermore, the idea of a "leafy plain" is no-where to be found in the Exodus account. However, when God separates the land from the waters in Gen 1, he commands next that it should bring forth vegetation.

The transition from the description of the Exodus to recalling the events of the plagues in Egypt further indicates the author's intention of echoing the creation accounts of Genesis, for this "step back in time" enables him to continue in sequence with the creation accounts when he could no longer do so by drawing on the framework of Exodus 14. The plagues of Egypt are depicted as the antithesis of the commands during the creation in which animal life emerges from the earth and fish from the sea.

Having taken a step "backwards in time," the author moves his account "forwards in time" to a description of the provision of the quail (again it seems motivated by his desire to follow the account of creation in his narrative). The sea as the location of origin of the quail attests to this desire, for although the Heb. of Gen 1:20-21 does not indicate the place from which birds originate, the LXX describes them as being brought forth by the sea along with the aquatic creatures: ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα (Gen 1:20).²²⁰

In WisSol 19:6ff, the God who created the cosmos accomplishes a new act of creation in the formation and salvation of Israel. The idea of "creation fashioned anew" is used to explain God's salvific act of deliverance in the parting of the Red Sea. The concept is centred upon the saving miracle, not upon an act of re-creation of the people themselves (as in Jer and Eze). Thus the idea of "new creation" is not an ethical term (new heart/new

²¹⁸Beauchamp, "Le salut," 502-504, Larcher, 3.1056, Winston, 325.

²¹⁹The Genesis command is "Let dry land appear (καὶ ὤφθῃ τὸ ξηρὰ)." WisSol 19:7b also includes the idea of the "appearance" (ἐθεωρήθη=emerge) of the dry land (ξηρὰς...γῆς) "seen" by Israel with the overshadowing cloud, a detail not included in the account of Ex 19:21-22.

²²⁰Beauchamp, "Le salut," 505-506.

spirit) but a means of ethnic salvation. The author of WisSol is on solid OT footing when he presents the Exodus as an act of creation. Ex 15 itself celebrates the event in terms which recall *Chaoskampf*, and Isaiah 40-66 describes the return of the exiles as a "new exodus" that is also a "new creation." But whereas these passages (and we can add to this the eschatology of Jeremiah 30-33, Ezekiel 36-37, 40-47, and Dan 7) all refer to various creation traditions in their descriptions of the salvation of Israel, in WisSol as in Sirach, the interpretation of Israel's story overlaps with the story of creation, for the *text* of Genesis 1-3 itself was read in the light of the book of Exodus, and vice-versa. Not only was the particularistic concept of covenant being combined with the universal concepts of creation, the texts themselves which describe these were brought together in interpretation, exegesis and expansions. We witnessed this first in a developed manner in Sirach, and find the same elaborate and careful paralleling of creation text and covenantal acts in WisSol. Thus, the story of the creation of the world found in Gen 1-3 is adopted by the wisdom writers to be a model for the story of the creation of Israel. The emergence of a "nationalistic hermeneutic," by which the creation texts were read and interpreted with the goal of underscoring Israel's divine election and unique status among the nations, is a most notable development in both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Summarizing our findings in this section, we can say that the statement of the theme, "for the whole creation was fashioned anew," actually indicates a double theme.²²¹ The author of WisSol is anxious to explain the miracles of the Exodus themselves within the context of the scientific philosophy of Hellenism. But beyond the miracles themselves, he also stresses the purpose of the cosmic "recreation": the protection of Israel, the "children" of God. God's new creative commands reshaped the cosmos for the benefit of his people. The structure of the "whole creation" is oriented towards the salvation of Israel, because the "cosmos defends the righteous."

²²¹As Larcher, 3.1056 comments, "Dans ce cas, il nous fait songer à une sorte de recommencement de la création en faveur des «enfants de Dieu»; dans l'autre, à une sorte de bouleversement de l'ordre de choses établi, la nature manifestant des possibilités nouvelles."

4.7 History as Historical Prologue

In the structure of the covenant formula, the purpose of the historical prologue (which recites the past benevolence and faithfulness of the suzerain) in relationship to the stipulatory commands of the covenant is "to ground the obligations of Israel to YHWH in the history of his gracious acts on her behalf."²²²

What your ancestors saw is what *you* saw. God's rescue of them implicates *you*, obliges *you*, for *you*, hearing this story and responding affirmatively, become Israel, and it was Israel whom he rescued. ...the historical prologue brings the past to bear pointedly on the present. In the words of the rabbinic Passover liturgy (Haggadah), "Each man is obligated to see himself as if he came out of Egypt."²²³

Thus, in the covenantal context, the recital of Israel's past collective history is a call to covenant fidelity for the individual Israelite in the present.

This understanding of the function of the recital of history clarifies how one is to understand the third part of the book of Wisdom. The retelling of the history of God's gracious and salvific acts towards Israel ends with the acclamation (the acclamation which also closes the book as a whole), "For in everything, O Lord, thou hast exalted and glorified *thy people*; and thou hast not neglected to help them at all times and in all places" (WisSol 19:22). Note how the conclusion of the book is an affirmation of the election of Israel. "In everything," "in all times," "in all places," the fidelity of God to his people Israel has been evident, and this "historical prologue" prepares the way for the implicit call for reciprocal fidelity. The writer of WisSol, by recalling how Creator employed the entire cosmos to deliver Israel and to punish her enemies in the past, calls the present faithful of Israel in Alexandria to reaffirm their allegiance to the Covenant. Creation imagery not only is utilized to depict salvation history, it serves as a summons to covenantal fidelity.

²²²Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*, 37, see 26-30. The six steps of covenant formulary which Winston identifies are 1)preamble (titulary), 2)historical prologue (antecedent history), 3)stipulations, 4)deposition, 5)list of witnesses, 6)curse and blessings. He draws upon the work of Mendenhall, Baltzer, and Bickerman.

²²³Levenson, *Sinai*, 38.

4.8 Summary: Cosmos, Election and the Salvation of the People of God in WisSol 11-19.

God is the just king of the cosmos, and loves all that he has created. He desires that all should repent and receive the "eternal light of the Law." Yet, universal love is not understood to be a contradiction to the national election of Israel in WisSol, for Israel has a special relationship with God, based on the promises made by God to the patriarchs. God's special fatherly love, mercy, and discipline toward Israel make her distinct from the nations. Along with the record of God's mercy and salvation to Israel in history, her privileged covenantal status is attested by titles accorded her: God's 'sons,' 'the people of God,' the 'righteous,' 'holy ones,' 'blameless race.'

In the past, Israel responded to God's love and mercy by faithfulness to her obligations. In the midst of danger, she placed her trust in the promises of God and remained obedient to the commands of the Law. Obedience to the Law included the functions of the cult in worship. Her mission remains to be the bearer and dispenser of the light of the Torah to the world, but such a mission calls forth her own uncompromising obedience to the Torah. Furthermore, the invitation to the world to participate in the salvation offered by the Torah does not indicate a transference of Israel's privileges to the entire cosmos. Universal mission does not break down the boundary of the Torah, for the Torah still demarcates the righteous from the unrighteous. Nor does it lessen the particularism of Israel's special relationship with God, for her election is affirmed at far greater length than the concept of mission. Therefore, the invitation to the nations is to join Israel *in her world, a world which is ordered by covenantal nomism*. The particular assumes universal significance in this meeting of Judaism and Hellenism.

Yet in the end, the focus lies not upon Israel, but upon her Lord. The Creator of all things is a faithful covenantal partner to Israel. He has ordered creation in such a way that it functions as his agent of salvation, assisting the righteous and punishing their enemies. This is graphically attested by the miracles of the Exodus, when "the whole creation was fashioned anew" in a way that paralleled the initial creation of the cosmos. Language and scientific philosophy borrowed from Hellenism is employed to explain how these miracles

occurred and to defend the viability of Israel's unique history and the claims which result from it. Creation history and salvation history merge together, and history itself, because it recalls God's steadfast mercy and faithfulness, calls the present hearers to render reciprocal fidelity to the covenant God made with them.

5. Conclusion: Creation, Covenantal Nomism and the People of God in the Wisdom of Solomon

At the end of our study of WisSol, we can conclude with confidence that covenantal nomism remains the 'pattern of religion' of the Judaism depicted in WisSol. We can likewise point to many instances in which creation traditions and creation texts from Scripture were utilized to underscore the "pattern of religion" of traditional Judaism as well as the central points of her identity: election, cult and covenant. We have already summarized our findings and proposed conclusions regarding each particular section of the book. We can now respond to the broader issues raised in the introduction.

1) The election of Israel is affirmed in WisSol. She has a special relationship with God, and is therefore called "the righteous," "the holy ones," "sons of God," "a blameless nation," "the people of God." She is the special object of God's fatherly discipline. This election is not in contradiction to the love of God for all his creation. The writer emphasizes the philanthropy of God, that the God who made all loves all whom he made. The "imperishable light of the Law" is to be "given to the world." However, Israel alone is the bearer and dispenser of salvation light, and her 'pattern of religion' is the exclusive pathway to salvation and immortality. There is a universal invitation extended to partake of this light, but there is not a universal transference of Israel's covenant and blessings to all creation. As the blessings of Israel are not universalized, neither are they individualized at the expense of corporate election and salvation. Individual salvation takes place by 'staying in' the community of the faithful.

2) In WisSol, Torah is not a synonym for universal reason, a philosophical revelation of God's character and intentions to the world. Torah is the covenant of God with Israel, and sight is never lost of Israel's election, nor are any of the commands of Yahweh that form the covenantal stipulations of the Law relaxed one iota. The Torah remains the boundary that separates the righteous from the unrighteous. It is *the* light of salvation. The righteousness of the righteous man of WisSol 2-5 is defined by his fidelity to the Torah. This fidelity involves assent to the revelatory aspect of the Torah and obedience to its regulatory aspect. Israel's cult is important in WisSol - the true worship of the true God takes place therein. Observances which distinguish Israel from her neighbors are not "played down," but defended. Only those who remain faithful to the Torah receive the blessing of immortality which it promises. Furthermore, Torah divides ethnic Israel into the righteous and the unrighteous. Covenantal obedience is the only criterion for belonging to the righteous, and the Torah excludes *all* who are not faithful to it. Nationalism is effected not because of a weakening of boundaries, but by an intensification of the demarcation of the righteous from the ungodly.

3) Creation faith and creation theology play a central role in the understanding of Israel's faith in WisSol. Through the story of creation (Gen 1-3) God's intention for humanity is revealed, and the past intention of the Creator forms the eschatological hope of the future. Creation theology and covenantal nomism blend together to form the eschatology of WisSol. Immortality, which God created Adam to share, is attained and maintained through righteousness. As noted above, the righteous man pictured in WisSol 2-5 is the one who is faithful to the covenant, who maintains his obedience to Torah in spite of testing. The concept of "image of God" is linked with covenantal behavior, for one does not attain to immortality simply because of 'the immortality of the soul,' but immortality is the wage, the prize, of those who live in holiness and without blame before Yahweh.

In Part 2 of WisSol, the author, like the author of Sirach, begins with depicting wisdom in her most universal breadth. He does this particularly by associating her with the process of creation. But as we saw in Sirach, the universal serves as a preparation for particularistic claims. The wisdom which created the world was sent upon Solomon to assist him in the building of the Temple, and was the saving power in the lives of Israel's patriarchs (among whom Adam is numbered).

The recollection of Israel's salvation history continues in Part 3. Creation itself assists God in the salvation of humanity, for it is his agent to protect and help the righteous and to punish the enemies of the godly. The miracles of the Exodus reflect this function of creation, bringing together creation faith and salvation history. In fact, they are explicitly understood as a new act of creation by God, paralleling the creation of the cosmos in Gen 1. Kolarcik's conclusion can be affirmed when he writes that creation theology in WisSol is extended:

to interpret the entire spectrum of history: creation, exodus and the ultimate judgment. For the Wisdom author, every human event is ultimately interpreted through the lens of a creational principle. The cosmos, created in the wisdom of God, continues to restore the original justice of creation. Creation is a liberation from chaos, and every saving moment is a form of new creation.²²⁴

In the Wisdom of Solomon, both the history of Part 3 and the eschatology of Part 1 are employed to call the Jews of Alexandria to perseverance in their faithfulness to the covenant in spite of persecution and opposition. History includes both creation and Exodus. From creation is learned God's intention for humanity; from the Exodus is witnessed God's faithfulness to his people. Eschatology also includes creation and Exodus. The hope of the righteous is the reward of sharing in the "image of God's own eternity," the immortality intended for Adam. The confidence that the righteous will be so vindicated is grounded in the confession that, as the record of the Exodus shows, the God of Israel's covenant has "in everything, at all times and in all places" helped, exalted and glorified his people. The author's creation faith believes in an all-powerful Creator who has ordered the entire cosmos to assist the righteous to attain the life he intended for them from the beginning. This

²²⁴Kolarcik, 107.

Creator is Israel's God, who "refashioned creation anew" in order to save his people. In the Wisdom of Solomon, covenantal nomism is reinforced by the obligation of history and the hope of eschatology, both of which reveal the saving plan and purpose of the Creator.

Those who desire to be included among the righteous can follow the advice of Solomon in Part 2 of the book and call upon the Wisdom which created the world to guard and guide them with the same saving power which she in the past exercised on behalf of the people of God.

Section 3. Conclusion: Wisdom Literature - Creation and Election in the Hellenistic Era.

As we have provided summaries and conclusions within each section, we will now attempt to bring together some general observations from our study of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon.

1. Traditional Judaism in a Pluralistic Age.

These books give us examples of how sectors of Judaism attempted to maintain a sense of social, ethnic and national identity amidst the plurality and *paideia* of Hellenism. Throughout both books, the foundational ideas which made up Israel's claim to a unique and special place among the nations are reiterated. The identity of the people of God remains determined to a large degree by the traditional emphasis upon national election, faithfulness to the Torah/covenant and cultic practice (Temple, priesthood and cult). Both books depict "covenantal nomism" as the true "pattern of religion" and are designed to encourage the faithful and to call the apostate to repentance.²²⁵ Thus, alongside the ethnic dualism present in both books, an ethical dualism emerges in demarcating the righteous in Israel. Both books frequently use creation imagery and the creation stories as central elements in establishing Israel's identity as the people of God.

2. The "Nationalistic" Interpretation of the Creation Stories.

2.1 Gen 1-3 and the Election of Israel.

In Sir 33:7-13, 15:11-20, 16:26-30, 17:1-10 and 24:3, the text of Gen 1-3 has been "reread" to apply specifically to the election of Israel and her possession of Torah/Wisdom. Primeval history establishes the principles which govern salvation history (for instance, the

²²⁵In WisSol, the hope of eschatology in Part 1 (the immortality designed for Adam) and the obligation of history in Part 3 (salvation as new creation) call the righteous to perseverance and issue warnings to the apostate. Repentance and covenantal faithfulness are major themes of Ben Sira. Even the depiction of the heroes of the past is a critique upon the present. We noted particularly the use of creation tradition in Sir 15:11-18:14 to address these issues: a recognition of theodicy (through understanding the Creator's intentions) brings humility and repentance.

parallel drawn between the process of separation in creation and of election among humans, Sir 16:26-17:17, 33:7-13). Furthermore, as in Zion tradition, the promise of primal time is fulfilled in the covenantal people. In WisSol 19:6-12, the deliverance at the Red Sea is described as a new creation not with reference to *Chaoskampf* tradition (as in the OT) but by drawing intentional and detailed parallels to the creation narrative of Gen 1. This overlap between creation and salvation is uniquely expressed in WisSol by the idea that "creation assists the righteous" both in their quest for immortality (WisSol 1:11-15) and in their protection and salvation (WisSol 5:17-20, 11:17-20, 16:16-25). In Sirach and in the Wisdom of Solomon the ethnocentric "rereadings" of Gen 1-3 are not passing allusions but are integral and sustained elements of some of the most important and extended parts of each book. Therefore, we can conclude that *one of the responses of traditional Judaism to the encroachment of Hellenism was to reinterpret the creation narratives in a way which made them expressly reinforce the boundaries and identity of the elect people of God.*

2.2 Adam Tradition and the People of God.

In both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, Adam functions as a symbol of what unites all humanity: mortality and sin.²²⁶ Yet, Adam also represents the divine intention in creating humanity, an intention which is fulfilled among the righteous in Israel. Thus, the wisdom bestowed on Adam (Sir 17:1-10) becomes the possession of Israel at Sinai (Sir 17:11-14), the glory of Adam, above all the living (Sir 49:16), is manifested upon Simon II as he ministers in his high priestly duties (Sir 50:1-20), the immortality intended for Adam is that which is the reward of the righteous, those who in spite of persecution and being misunderstood remain faithful to the Torah (WisSol 1-5). Thus Adam in his mortality (which includes his sin) unites all humanity, but Adam in his perfection is the patriarch of righteous Israel. Later, *Adam Christology would adopt again both aspects of the Adam tradition. However, Paul utilized the mortality of the first Adam to include those under the*

²²⁶For the mortality of Adam, see Sir 33:10, 17:1-2, 39:12-41:13, WisSol 7:1. For Adam's sin, see Sir 25:24, WisSol 1:15-2:24, 10:1-2.

Law, and the glory and wisdom of the last Adam to include those previously apart from the Law.

3. Cult and Creation Tradition

As in the Zion tradition of the OT, Sirach incorporates Paradise imagery into his description of Israel's cult. However in distinction to Zion tradition, he draws his references to Paradise out of the Genesis texts themselves. The effect of wisdom in Paradise is like incense made up from the plants of Paradise, the rivers of Paradise encircle Jerusalem and the symbol of abundant trees make Palestine into Eden (Sir 24:13-22, 25-31). The glory of the high priest is the glory of Adam (Sir 49:16-50:20). The author of WisSol also used creation tradition to enhance the status of the cult. When Aaron interceded for Israel, his robe depicting the cosmos indicated that the universe was his fellow ministrant on behalf of the righteous (WisSol 18:21-25). The cult was central to Israel's identity as the people among whom God dwelt. *In both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, creation imagery underscores the value of Israel's cult, which in turn serves to affirm Israel's unique identity in the world.*

4. Wisdom and Creation: From the Universal to the Particular.

Many scholars have examined the depiction of Wisdom as active in creation in both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. In both books, many references are made to Wisdom's activity in creation and in primal time. Notably, her presence in the creation narratives of Gen 1-3 themselves is "drawn out" by a "wisdom interpretation" of these texts. However, what has been overlooked in the past is that the universalizing of wisdom's role and significance through identifying her as active in primal time is done in preparation for depicting her in her most particular expression: dwelling in Israel as the glory of God, expressed in Israel in the Torah of the covenant. This movement of Wisdom from creation (the universal) to election, Torah, and cult (the particular) is seen to a degree in Sir 17:1-17, and with obvious intention in Sir 24 and WisSol 7-10 (which in essence introduces the

salvation history depicted in WisSol 11-19). Similarly, the theme of the glory of God (again a personification of God's self-manifestation) is developed from its starting point in creation (Sir 42:15-43:33) to election and salvation history (Sir 44-49) to its culmination in the cult (Sir 50). In WisSol 1-5 and 11-19, the entire cosmos, fashioned by Wisdom, is an agent of the Creator by which Israel has been saved throughout her history and the righteous man assisted towards immortality, and by which Israel's enemies were punished and the apostates will be destroyed at the final judgment. Thus, creation theology is used to portray the Wisdom of God and the glory of God at their most universal breadth in preparation for introducing them in their most particular manifestation: as the possessions of the elect people of God. *The unique identity of Israel as the people of God, those who have been given through their election the wisdom and glory of God, is reinforced all the more by first establishing the universal breadth of God's self-manifestation: the wisdom and glory of God in creation and primal time.* Thus, within the boundaries of election is fulfilled the purpose of creation.

Chapter 3. Early Apocalyptic Literature, New Creation and the People of God

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION AND WORKING DEFINITIONS

1. Introduction

Our investigation turns now to examine some of the major works from among the earliest Jewish apocalyptic literature. Given the numerous documents which fall into this category, and our desire to identify the use of creation tradition within the wider context of the writing, we limit the scope of our research to the larger writings or collections of writings which are clearly pre-Pauline: 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹

In keeping with current usage, we will refrain from using "apocalyptic" as a noun and accept the definition of the following terms: 'apocalypse' is a category of literary genre,² 'apocalypticism' is a type of socio-religious movement, and 'apocalyptic eschatology' is a set of ideas and motifs widespread in various genres and social groups. Needless to say, all apocalypses are not eschatological and not all writings which contain apocalyptic eschatology are apocalypses. Apocalyptic literature is a category which includes both apocalypses and works which reflect apocalyptic eschatology.³

2. Apocalypticism as a Social Movement

Apocalypticism, as the word itself would indicate, had as its central concern the revelation of divine knowledge to mankind. This revelation was of knowledge regarding the

¹In our examination of Galatians, we will cross-reference additional passages from Jewish documents not reviewed in this chapter.

²The standard working definition of the genre "apocalypse" was set forth in *Semeia* 14.

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.

We will adopt this definition whenever we refer to the term "apocalypse." See K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (SBT 2/22; Naperville: Allenson, 1972) 24-28 for a more detailed literary analysis.

³See J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroads, 1987) 2.

culmination of history as well as insight into the unseen spiritual world of angels and demons and the humanly undetectable structure of the cosmos. Puzzling questions regarding the past and particularly the present could be answered by understanding the influence of the unseen realms on human destiny. Revelatory knowledge also gave comfort and assurance of the certainty of a better future.

Jewish apocalypticism was a form of millenarianism. A very broad and simplified definition of this type of social movement could be given as follows.⁴

1. A group within a larger culture or society develops a perception of a sense of deprivation. They may be cut off from social/political influence (power), access to the established religious hierarchy (redemptive media), or feel economically oppressed.
2. This sense of deprivation is projected onto the establishment, and the need for a new social order is determined. This change of social order is often understood to be "a return" to the valued traditions of the group.
3. This millenarian movement coalesces only with the rise of a "millenarian prophet" who provides the group with leadership, particularly by sharing millenarian revelation.
4. Millenarian revelation describes the group's present situation, predicts the desired change anticipated (often in terms of utopia or Paradise), and prescribes the behavior or actions necessary for one to participate in the process of change and resolution.

As is well documented, the power of Hellenism as a social and cultural force which threatened to undermine the traditional beliefs of Judaism and the structure of Jewish society is the central point in the sense of deprivation discernible in much apocalyptic literature.⁵ Specifically, it was not simply the power of Hellenism from without, but its influence upon those within Judaism, those who controlled the power in Jewish political, financial and religious structures, which caused the most concern for many within Judaism. These structures were considered to have "sold-out" to Hellenism, to have abandoned the sacred traditions of Judaism and to have become secularized by Hellenism. Many sectarian groups

⁴What follows summarizes the description of S. R. Isenberg, "Millenarism in Greco-Roman Palestine," *Religion* 4 (1974) 35-38.

⁵Many have attempted to see apocalyptic literature as the product of the economically poor and socially outcast. This thesis has been strongly contested by W. Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975) 142-145. Our studies of 1 Enoch, Daniel and Jubilees support the viewpoint that a sense of deprivation gave rise to the social unrest in Jewish millenarian sects.

formed around an "anti-secular" perspective, a desire to return to sacred traditions.⁶

Therefore, although the wider context of Jewish apocalyptic literature is the encounter of Judaism and Hellenism, the apocalypses themselves are addressed primarily at intra - Jewish social conflicts. We will deal with the rise of sectarianism, and the issue of a "sectarian nationalism," at the close of this introduction.

3. Characteristics of Apocalyptic Literature

3.1 Imminent Eschatology

As could be expected of a millenarian world-view, the content of revelation in Jewish apocalypses is often dominated by an imminent eschatology.⁷ History was very soon to reach its culmination as long awaited divine promises were brought to their final fulfillment. The transition from the present time to the time of final salvation would be marked by cosmic catastrophe which affected both the heavenly realm and social-political life on the earth. The phrase *Urzeit ist Endzeit* is particularly appropriate for the eschatological world-view of apocalypticism, which utilized many symbolic images drawn from primeval stories.

3.2 Theology of History

In many apocalypses, history is the foundation for eschatology. Human history and destiny was periodized into past historical eras (including primal time), the present era and the eschaton. As we shall see in our examination of 1 Enoch, Jubilees and Daniel, apocalypses often have a strong sense of determinism in their perception of history, because like the structure of the cosmos, the periods of human history were decreed from the beginning of time. One therefore should not seek to change the destiny of humanity, one must rather seek to adapt to the pre-ordained divinely determined progress of history.

⁶S. B. Reid, *Enoch and Daniel: A Form Critical and Sociological Study of the Historical Apocalypses* (Berkeley: Bibal, 1989) 133. See as well his previous study, "1 Enoch: The Rising Elite of the Apocalyptic Movement," in *SBL 1983 Seminar Papers* (ed. K. H. Richards; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 147-156.

⁷So Koch, *Rediscovery*, 18 and Schmittals, *Apocalyptic*, 130.

Through the periodization of history, issues such as divine theodicy and the function of Israel as an elect people could be addressed in the midst of present difficult and humbling circumstances.⁸ Although persecuted in the present era, retribution was promised the faithful in the new era. Therefore those who find themselves facing overwhelming difficulties can have faith in the imminence of divine salvation.

The periodization of history makes the present era the most crucial, for it is the pivotal point between the world as it has been and the utopia to come. The presentation of the periods of history are "world histories with the community of faith as the centre of the historical universe."⁹ This perspective on history makes it all the more important for apocalyptic sectarians to "hold fast" to their interpretation of revelation, for it is their fidelity which enables the transition to the eschaton. Jewish apocalyptic literature is notable for a emphasis that present faithfulness to the Torah, a faithfulness which separated the group from Jews secularized by Gentile influence and from the Gentiles themselves, is the crucial issue in whether or not one participates in the expected new creation.

A theology of history emerges from Jewish apocalyptic literature: beginning with Adam and through biblical history, the purpose of creation is to reach its culmination in the vindication of the righteous (the self-designation of the given sect) through the judgment of the wicked and the eschatological salvation of the faithful. Israel is not only the expression of God's creative purpose, glorified Israel is the purpose of creation. As we shall continue to see, the creation theology of the sectarians retained much of the nationalistic and ethnocentric emphasis of previous generations.

3.3 Dualism: Ethnic, Ethical, and Spatial

Most apocalypses reflect a strong ethical dualism between the righteous and the wicked, the faithful and the apostate. The ethnic dualism between Jew and Gentile, although evident at times, often falls into the background because of a focus on the ethical

⁸M. E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 436-437.

⁹Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 69.

dualism between the righteous and the unrighteous. However, one of the main reasons why the "unrighteous" were considered apostates by the "righteous" is because the "unrighteous" were judged to have given way to Gentile influences, to have failed to preserve the unique identity of Israel through separation from the Gentiles. Therefore, the ethical dualism is based to a degree on ethnocentric issues. Furthermore, close examination shows that while the unrighteous are both apostate Jews and wicked Gentiles, the righteous in this world continue to be made up of Jews who consider themselves uniquely faithful to the Torah.

A spatial dualism between the earthly and heavenly realms is frequent in apocalyptic literature. Many apocalypses portray a direct correlation between these two realms. Just like the future was bound to the eschatological destiny of judgment and salvation, present human events were linked to events in the angelic and demonic world.¹⁰ Thus, conflicts between good and evil, and between nations, were reflections of the same activity in their heavenly counterparts. The eschatological future and the heavenly realm, although they strongly affect human history and destiny, cannot be ascertained without *revelation*. Therefore, in regards to both the present and the future, revelation of the divine realm is essential to truly understand human existence.

4. The Present in Apocalypticism

However much futuristic eschatology came to dominate apocalypticism, apocalypticism also was concerned both with present events and with the present world. Although perhaps overstated to make a point, Rowland's corrective statement is well taken:

Apocalyptic is as much involved in the attempt to understand things as they are now as to predict future events... There is thus a concern with the world above and its mysteries as a means of explaining human existence in the present. Apocalyptic has a vertical dimension which is just as important as any predictions made about the future.¹¹

¹⁰Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 7. Apocalyptic literature often details the hierarchical structure of both angels and demons.

¹¹C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London: SPCK, 1982) 2. However, Rowland's attempt to call apocalyptic (as he defines it, "a way of apprehending the divine will") and eschatology "two separate issues in Jewish religion" (pp. 47-48) is too neat given the high degree of overlap. For a critique, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 8.

4.1 Speculative Wisdom, Knowledge of the Cosmos and Mystical Ascent

Apocalypticism shows a keen interest in many aspects of wisdom, particularly in organizing knowledge of the structure, function and geography of the cosmos. Topics included in things revealed were astronomy, meteorology, uranography, cosmology and the secrets of nature. As we shall see, much of the interest in this area was possibly motivated by a desire to support sectarian practices such as the following of a particular calendar. Yet, at times, speculative wisdom was included in apocalypses without an explicit religious or ethical motive.¹²

A major contributing element to this quest for wisdom seems to have been the practice of divine ascent (including early forms of Merkabah mysticism). Taking the form of either visions or other-worldly journeys,¹³ in these revelatory experiences knowledge was disclosed to humans of the transcendent realm. Revealed to these individuals was information regarding the physical structure of the cosmos and nature, knowledge of the angelic and demonic realms, and insight into the course of history, particularly the interpretation of present crisis situations and the awaiting eschatological salvation. Often the one who ascended (usually a figure from ancient time) revealed his knowledge to his community or his descendants. Even if it played a lesser role in apocalypticism than eschatology, mysticism still must be recognized as an essential component in the apocalyptic world-view.

4.2 Millenarian Revelation and Present Practice

Although apocalypticism was forward looking towards the eschatological era, one of its concerns was how one qualified *in the present* to be numbered among the future elect remnant. Present obedience and faithfulness, although incurring persecution in this world, was the key to gain access to the future world in which such covenant keeping would be vindicated. Thus, how one lived in the present was essential to whether or not one would

¹²See M. E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 414, 443.

¹³See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5.

enjoy the future so explicitly described in apocalyptic literature. Rowland writes, "Thus the key to the whole movement is that God reveals his mysteries directly to man and thereby gives them knowledge of the true nature of reality so that they may organize their lives accordingly."¹⁴

The importance of the present is emphasized in the parenetic sections of apocalyptic writings. These sections contain long warnings to apostates and sinners regarding impending judgment and their terrible end. But as has been pointed out, the warnings are addressed to a hypothetical audience, as those being warned could scarcely have been expected to hear the cautions issued. Rather, the warnings strengthen the resolve of the "righteous" to continue to hold faithfully to the values of the sect by highlighting the anticipated destiny of those who fail to do so.¹⁵

5. The Origins of Jewish Apocalypticism

The question of the origin of Jewish apocalypticism remains a subject of great scholarly interest with little emerging consensus. As Koch has noted "*Every one* of the groupings of the late Israelite period for which we have any evidence at all has been suggested as the *Sitz im Leben* of the apocalyptic writings."¹⁶ In the midst of such diverse speculation, two generalizations can be made.

1) While recognizing possible Iranian, Babylonian, Persian and Hellenistic influences on Jewish apocalypses,¹⁷ the origins of apocalypticism must eventually be traced back to Judaism itself, particularly the prophetic movements found in the OT,¹⁸ reflection

¹⁴Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 11.

In apocalyptic literature, parenetic sections often round off eschatological revelation. The community the seer addressed was often given direct application of the heavenly disclosures. At times this was in the form of the ancient pseudonymous figure addressing his "sons" following his heavenly ascent. In Daniel, the introductory stories show how one remains faithful to Yahweh and to the Torah in spite of the upheaval of political and social circumstances foretold in later chapters. See Koch, *Rediscovery*, 25-26.

¹⁵J. C. H. Lebram, "The Piety of the Jewish Apocalyptists," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1983) 196.

¹⁶Koch, *Rediscovery*, 21, emphasis mine. See Koch, *Rediscovery*, 21-22 for a brief overview of the various scholarly opinions regarding the origin of apocalyptic.

¹⁷For an overview, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 21-28 and Schmithals, *Apocalyptic*, 111-126.

¹⁸See particularly Hanson, *Dawn*, Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic* (London: Athlone, 1944) 13ff and D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish*

upon Scripture, mysticism which was an outgrowth of the throne-vision in the early chapters of Ezekiel and, to a lesser degree, the wisdom trajectory of OT faith.¹⁹

2) Jewish apocalypticism cannot be confined to one particular sect within Judaism. Attempted reconstructions of a unified *Sitz im Leben* have all been proved inadequate to address the full spectrum of apocalyptic literature.²⁰ Apocalypses and apocalypticism can be attributed to many diverse sects within Second Temple Judaism.

6. Apocalypticism, Sectarianism and Nationalism

The loss of Israel's political power in the Second Temple period seemed to have resulted in a greater emphasis being placed upon her cultural and religious distinctives as a way of maintaining a sense of identity in a Hellenistic environment.²¹ But with the intensification of the importance upon Temple and Torah also came increasing controversy regarding cultic practice and religious observance, with many making competing claims as to possessing the correct interpretation of God's revelation. Thus the Judaism which emerged from the exile would be marked by an ever increasing diversity among the people of God. As could be expected, because each group believed that their own interpretative viewpoints best represented the true faith of Israel, a degree of hostility was manifested towards all others who would not yield to the claims of the group.²² The increasing separation between the righteous and the ungodly *within Israel* reflected the growing fragmentation in identifying the true "people of God."

Apocalyptic (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 178-95. See also L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning. A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5* (Lund: Gleerup, 1979) 7-12.

¹⁹Von Rad, *OTT*, 2.301-308 has made the strongest appeal for Wisdom as being the origin of apocalypticism. Although he effectively shows the similarities between wisdom and apocalypticism, he insists that it "is completely out of the question" that the apocalyptic literature is an outgrowth of prophecy. See Schmithals, *Apocalyptic*, 131-134 for a sharp critique of the narrowness of Von Rad's view.

²⁰See Stone, *JWSTP*, 433.

²¹Some scholars, like Plöger, *Theocracy*, 42-51 (see also Schmithals, *Apocalyptic*, 135) have portrayed the Judaism of the Second Temple period as moving away from political nationalism to theocracy. While it is evident that the community of faith began to organize their self-identity around the Temple and the Torah, it seems better to speak of a period of passive nationalism than a move away from political nationalism. As the events of the Maccabean era and the sudden rise of nationalistic zeal after the death of Agrippa shows, passive nationalism could quickly be fanned into active nationalism, given the correct circumstances and the right leaders.

²²Schmithals, *Apocalyptic*, 135.

Can we still speak of a nationalism, if the focus of most apocalyptic literature is intra-group controversy? As our survey of apocalyptic literature will reveal, many examples of sectarian eschatological hopes still reflect a basic nationalistic eschatology. Only now, these hopes belong exclusively to the "insider group." However, this group, no matter how small presently, imagined itself to govern nations and inherit the world after the judgment of the wicked inside and outside of Israel. Many of the groups who considered themselves alone to be the faithful, although presently a remnant small in number, anticipated the process of eschatological "reversal and restoration."²³ Those dissatisfied with the established religious hierarchy and who held fast to the hope portrayed by the prophets began the process of understanding their words with an eschatological orientation. Thus, the political nationalism of many of the prophetic texts found life in sectarian eschatological hopes. Through the eschatological crisis, the faithful would emerge to see the redemption of Israel and the restoration of the Temple (to what in their particular interpretation would be its correct function). As we already witnessed in our study of the prophets, this future salvation of the elect people was at times accompanied by a tendency towards universalism.²⁴ At the same time, the primary role of Israel in the process of history, in spite of present political weakness or moral inability, would continue to be addressed by many of the apocalyptic writers. As Hanson points out, although the form adopted by apocalyptic eschatology is different from the prophetic eschatology of the OT, "...it must be emphasized that the essential vision of restoration persists in both, the vision of Yahweh's people restored as a holy community in a glorified Zion."²⁵

Apocalypticism is usually marked by legalism, not libertarianism, because legalism is one of the chief means to differentiate from a larger group and to establish self-identity.

²³E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1983) 455-458. In his "essentialist" definition of Jewish apocalypses, Sanders identifies the "combination of revelation with the promise of restoration and reversal" to be that which is distinctive among what are usually considered to be Palestinian Jewish apocalypses (Daniel, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, 4Ez, 2Bar, ApAb; see also TLevi 2-5).

At times, the eschatological age would be marked by the rapid multiplication of members of a sectarian group.

²⁴Koch, *Rediscovery*, 30.

²⁵Hanson, *Dawn*, 12.

Therefore, the boundaries of traditional Judaism were not broadened or universalized, they were drawn even more tightly, an ethical dualism within the ethnic dualism.

As we begin our study of the earliest apocalyptic literature, our task will be in examining the various presentations to understand how creation tradition and creation theology was utilized to identify the present and future people of God and to encourage their faithfulness to the Torah in the midst of religious, social and political pressure.

SECTION 2: THE BOOK OF FIRST ENOCH

1. Introduction

In the various compositional strata of 1 Enoch are contained some of the earliest apocalyptic writings. These writings reflect many of the key issues in the sectarianism which began to mark Judaism from the third century BCE. As the book now stands, based on the Ethiopic text, 1 Enoch is made up of 5 main sections: The Book of Watchers (1-36), The Parables or Similitudes of Enoch (37-71), The Astronomical Book (72-82), the Book of Dream Visions (83-90 including the Animal Apocalypse), and the Epistle of Enoch (91-104, which includes the 10 Week Apocalypse - 93, 91:11-17; 1En 105-108 contains a recounting of the birth of Noah). The most ancient sections are the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book, both which could be dated as early as the third century BCE, with the latest date sometime in the second century BCE.²⁶ The two historical apocalypses, the 10WApoc and the Animal Apocalypse, can be dated to the period of the Maccabean revolt. These four sections of 1En contain the most significant utilization of creation imagery and theology, and our study will focus on these chapters.

We will not study the Parables of Enoch, as the date of their composition is still unresolved in scholarly debate.²⁷ Apart from the 10WApoc, we will not study the Epistle of Enoch, as no significant creation references occur in the parenetic sections.²⁸

²⁶Of course, all the sections of 1En reflect themselves a compositional process before reaching the form in which we have them now. Many diverse opinions exist on the pre-history of the texts. For an overview, see M. Black, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985) 1-23, J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 1-69, Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 36-37. Many of Milik's proposals on dating have been severely challenged by scholarly consensus.

²⁷Most scholars accept that the writing is Jewish and the date of origin to be sometime in the 1st century CE (mainly in reaction to Milik's exceptionally late date). However, little progress has been made in addressing the crucial question as to whether the writing is pre-Christian. See J. H. Charlesworth, "Seminar Report. The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1978-1979) 314-323.

Milik's central proposals, that there was an Enochic Pentateuch at Qumran and that the Similitudes are a late Christian composition inserted in place of the original Book of Giants (preserved only in late Manichaean sources and a few fragments at Qumran) can be found in "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân," *HTR* 64 (1971) 333-378, the article which forms the basis for the introduction to his book on the Aramaic Fragments. Both theses were effectively refuted by J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* (1970) 51-65.

²⁸An outstanding overview of contemporary research on 1En, including bibliography, can be found in G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Books of Enoch in Recent Research," *RSR* 7 (1981) 210-217.

2. The Book of Watchers: 1En 1-36

1En 1-36, the Book of Watchers, contains some of the oldest Enochic traditions. It recounts the story of the rise of sin and suffering in the world through the sin of the angelic Watchers, and foretells the eschatological resolution to the problem of sin. As we shall see, creation traditions regarding primal time are utilized to give voice to many of the issues most important to the community from which the writing emerged. The Book of Watchers itself is divisible into three parts: The Introduction (1En 1-5), the Story of the Watchers (1En 6-16), and the Ascent and Journey of Enoch (1En 17-36).

2.1 1En 1-5: Introduction

The main concern in these five chapters is the announcement of the final eschatological judgment, initiated by a theophany. This Great Judgement, as it is called elsewhere in 1 Enoch, is a central theme throughout the writings and with the figure of Enoch himself is the dominant manner in which the different parts of the book are unified.²⁹ The judgment immediately establishes the eschatological tone for the entire book, which contains descriptions of the origins and effects of sin and focuses on the contrasting destinies of the righteous and the impious.³⁰ *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology is employed, as the first judgment (the Flood) and new age imminent upon the characters of the book are prototypical of the final judgment and new age which is imminent for the readers of 1 Enoch.³¹

²⁹Black, *Enoch*, 12-13.

³⁰J. C. VanderKam, "The Theophany of Enoch 1:3b-7, 90," *VT* 23 (1973) 129-150 and *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington D.C.: CBA, 1984) 119.

Note that while the author of the BW recalls the story of Gen 2-3 in 1En 32:3-6, he does not attribute the origin of the power of sin to this disobedience. He understands the traditions of Gen 6 to address this issue.

³¹G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 388. See particularly 1En 10:1-3.

2.1a Covenantal Judgment: the OT Background of 1En 1-5

In 1En 1:3ff, God descends to Sinai to judge all humans and assign them their eternal destinies. The blessed, elect, and righteous ones shall be preserved and dwell in the light of God (1:8) and the ungodly, wicked, and sinners will be destroyed (1:9). This distinction between the righteous and the unrighteous is maintained throughout all the writings of 1 Enoch. Hartman has demonstrated that the "referential background" to 1En 1-5 is clearly the covenantal faith of the OT.³² Sin is defined primarily as rebellion against God and his laws, and in light of the OT background of 1 Enoch, this rebellion is covenantal unfaithfulness. The centrality of the idea of covenant to the collection of writings is reinforced by the location of the theophany specifically on Sinai.³³ As VanderKam comments,

"Especially in later Jewish literature, the word *Sinai* immediately suggested the gift of the law... Use of the word *Sinai* within a theophanic context brought in its train the giving of the law. If, then, Sinai was so closely tied to the law for Judaism, it is certainly possible that the author of 1En 1 mentioned Sinai in order to conjure up in his readers' minds the law of God by which he would judge all men."³⁴

Although 1 Enoch reveals the influence of Hellenistic and Oriental traditions, the righteous and the sinners are still defined primarily according to their relationship to the Law and the covenant. One's future destiny after the Great Judgment is decided by present covenantal faithfulness.

Divine condemnation comes upon all who breach the laws of God. This conclusion is forcefully restated throughout 1En.³⁵ God's law is both eternally and universally valid, and both those in Israel and those outside Israel will be held accountable. Eschatological judgment has the "double exposure" of Israel and the cosmos.³⁶

³²Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 123-124. In his detailed study, Hartman points specifically to the occurrence of the judgment theophany on Mt Sinai, the terminology of covenant, covenantal obligation and covenantal judgment (*rib*-patterns), the echoes of the last chapters of Deut, and the blessing-cursing motif. See also VanderKam, *Enoch*, 119.

³³The description of theophany resembles Deut 33, Judg 5, Hab 3, Micah 1.

³⁴VanderKam, "Theophany," 137-138. This is attested particularly through the targums, where there is a "close association between Sinai, theophany, and law."

³⁵For the centrality of this theme in 1En, see Black, 13.

³⁶Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 43-44, 48, VanderKam, "Theophany," 147. This concept occurs in the OT and comes to greater force with the increasingly explicit overlap between Wisdom and Torah in the

Yet, although eschatological judgment has in 1En a universal horizon, the emphasis on covenant immediately places the focus of judgment primarily upon the wicked "in Israel."³⁷ As we move ahead through the book of Enoch, we will uncover specific issues regarding interpretation of the Law which formed the dividing line between the faithful and the apostate. In particular, laws which directly impacted the ethnocentric identity of Jews, such as the celebration of cultic feasts, the observance of the Sabbath, and the avoiding of forbidden marriages to maintain ethnic purity, are given prominence in 1 Enoch. *Because of their function in defining Israel from the Gentiles, these areas of the Law in particular became central issues in the intra-group conflicts which distinguished the righteous from the unrighteous within Israel.*

2.1b 1En 2-5: Cosmic Order and Human Disorder - Sin as Rebellion Against God's Law

1En 2-5 establishes the theme of sin as rebellion against the laws of God by contrasting cosmic order and human disorder. As M. Black writes:

Chapter 2 introduces a second theme: the contrast between the harmony and regularity of nature, the movements of the heavenly bodies, the orderly succession of the seasons, with Israel's defiance of the divine ordinances, a defiance which can only lead to her 'eternal execration.'³⁸

In these chapters, the keeping of God's laws is exemplified in a litany which rehearses the obedience of all creation to divine decree.

1En 2:1-2³⁹

Consider all [his works] and observe the works (of creation) in heaven,
How the heavenly luminaries do not change their paths...
How each of them rises and sets in order, at its appointed time,
And at their fixed seasons they appear,
and do not violate their proper order (law);
Observe the earth and consider his works...
That from the first to the last no work of God is changed...

Hellenistic period. The belief that the Torah was offered also to the Gentiles and rejected by them is frequent in the Rabbinic literature.

³⁷See Hartman, 137.

³⁸Black, *Enoch*, 13. This comparison between the cosmos not changing the divine order and sinners changing the divine order is found in TNaph 3:2-5. Compare also 1QS 3:16.

³⁹Unless noted otherwise, the English translation of 1 Enoch is that provided by M. Black, *Enoch*.

1En 5:2-3

And all his works which he has made for ever attend on him year by year;
and all his works serve him and do not change, but all perform his
commands.

See how the seas and rivers together perform
and do not change their tasks by abandoning his commands.

The theme repeated in 2:1, 2:2, 5:2, and 5:3 is that the works of creation "do not change" from their courses and tasks which have been designated by the law of the Creator. In contrast are the actions of the unrighteous.

1En 5:4

But you have changed your works and you have not been steadfast nor done according to his commandments, but you have transgressed against him, and spoken proud and hard words with your impure mouths against his majesty.

A similar charge is found in later strata of Enoch tradition, 1En 99:2. "Woe unto you who alter/change the words of truth and pervert the eternal law. They reckon themselves not guilty of sin, they shall be trampled on upon the earth."

We have already observed this contrast between cosmic order and human disobedience in Jer 5:22-23.

Jer 5:22-23

22 Do you not fear me? says Yahweh;
Do you not tremble before me?
I placed the sand as the bound for the sea,
a perpetual barrier which it cannot pass;
though the waves toss, they cannot prevail,
though they roar, they cannot pass over it.
23 But this people has a stubborn and rebellious heart;
they have turned aside and gone away.

Similarly, the writer of 1 Enoch employs natural order in a parenetic manner.⁴⁰ Cosmic order is a witness on behalf of divine wisdom and against human rebellion. To live righteously means to render obedience, like the physical creation, to God's commands and decrees without "changing" them by transgression or misinterpretation.⁴¹

As we examine the ascents and journeys of Enoch through the creation, the implications of cosmic order upon humanity widens. The cosmos is designed with judgment and reward as its goal (1En 16-35) and reflects the "fixed order" determined for

⁴⁰See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 120. But in light of passages such as Jer 5, he is certainly incorrect in considering the parenetic use of natural order to be "unprecedented in the OT."

⁴¹Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 136-137.

the religious calendar. Revealed knowledge of the cosmos, therefore, becomes a powerful standard by which the righteous and the sinner are defined in the emerging sectarianism of third century Judaism. Cosmology does not only reflect an interest in "speculative wisdom." Human history, human destiny and human society are all related to and reflected in the structure of the cosmos. Therefore, the righteous are those who adapt their lives to the eternally ordained decrees and predestination of the Creator.⁴²

An analogy exists between the ordering of creation and the ordering of Israel's religious and social life: they are both governed by the Law of God, the Law designed to maintain and preserve life. Thus 1En reflects the process in which Wisdom, which created and orders the cosmos, and Torah, which determines the ordering of human life, eventually become mutually identified.

2.1c. 1En 5 - The Eschatological Rewards of the Righteous

Wisdom is mentioned specifically in 1En 5:7-10 as one of the primary rewards of the righteous in the new aeon. At that time the righteous will inherit the earth, and light, joy, peace and long life (recalling the new creation in Isa 65:17-25) will be granted them. In particular, 5:8 promises, "then shall wisdom be given to the elect, and all of them shall live and shall sin no more, either through sinning unwittingly or from pride: but those who have wisdom will be humble." Here again, wisdom is clearly tied into covenantal standing. It is a gift to the righteous, and will keep them from becoming "sinners." Those with wisdom will no longer transgress the laws of God. Wisdom produces the opposite of pride and rebellion: it produces humility, the equivalent to the "fear of the Lord." Throughout 1En, wisdom is equivalent to divine revelation and enlightenment.⁴³ Because of its impact on sinful behavior, the gift of eschatological wisdom in 1En is equivalent to the "law upon the heart" in Jeremiah or the "new heart and spirit" of Ezekiel. It is the means by which the people of God are transformed in the new creation.

⁴²"Since the apocalypses presume the course of history is built into the structure of the universe, cosmology naturally acquires a new importance." Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation," 137.

⁴³See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 38. See also Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 136.

2.2 1En 6-16: The Story of the Watchers

2.2a Sin as Primeval Rebellion against the Laws of God

The story of the rebellion of the angelic Watchers expands upon traditions found in Gen 6.⁴⁴ As a story of the origin of sin, it traces the root of human suffering to the rebellion of certain angels against the laws of God. Desiring to take human women as wives, 200 Watchers descend from the heavens. However, the offspring they produce turn out to be giants, which terrify and destroy the earth and its inhabitants. They also reveal to mankind different magical arts, alchemy, and warfare. In judgment, the Watchers are barred from heaven and consigned to an eternal place of punishment. Their offspring are killed, but their deaths serve to release their souls as demonic forces which cause evil among mankind until the great judgment.⁴⁵ Although Enoch himself intercedes on their behalf, the judgment decreed upon them is final.

However, instead of limiting the story of the Watchers in 1En 6-16 to an aetiology on the origin of sin, it can also be understood as a paradigm illustrating the basis of sin. Sin originates as rebellion against the laws of God which regulate cosmos and society.⁴⁶ In violating the boundaries which God established to order creation (the fact that the Watchers left the heavenly realm is emphasized - 12:4; 14:5; 15:3, 7; 16:2), the Watchers "defile themselves" (15:4). Thus the problem of evil in 6-16 is understood as a "rupture in the order of the universe."⁴⁷ As we have seen, this same theme forms the central concept of 1En 2-5.

⁴⁴Much research has been focused on the mythological background of 1En 6-16, and scholars have proposed Greek, Hurrian, Hermetic influences on the myth's present form.

Scholars agree that at least two clear lines of traditional material regarding fallen angels have been incorporated into 1En 6-16. See Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," 383-405 and Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 38-39.

⁴⁵This is what could be described as typical "apocalyptic eschatology." The present era is dominated by evil spirits, the solution to this situation is the judgment and eschatological age. See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 577.

⁴⁶D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 116-117.

⁴⁷C. A. Newsome, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 315-316.

2.2b The original application of the Watcher's story in 1En 6-16: Concern for Ethnic and Family Purity in Priestly Families

Did a specific social or religious situation motivate the retelling of this primeval myth by the author of 1En 6-16? This line of questioning has been addressed both by G. W. E. Nickelsburg and D. Suter. In independent studies, they arrived at similar interpretations: the myth of the Watchers in 1En 6-16 is a critique of the established priesthood in Jerusalem.⁴⁸

Ezra 9-10 and Neh 10:30-31 and 13:3, 23-29 show the concern from the beginning of the Second Temple Period regarding mixed marriages. This concern was "grounded both in Torah, which prohibited marriages with the inhabitants of the land (Ex 34:16; Deut 7:3, 23:3-5) and in the pressing need for the maintenance of racial and cultural identity in the world of flux."⁴⁹ Büchler's study has shown that this concern to maintain family purity through appropriate marriages was motivated primarily by a concern for priestly purity (see Ezra 10:18-24 and Neh 13:28-30, compare Josephus, *Ant.* XI.302-3, 306-12).⁵⁰ Neh 13:28-30 recounts the marriage of the grandson of the high priest to a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, governor of Samaria. This text unambiguously declares that mixed priestly marriages defile the priesthood and violate the Levitical covenant. A restored priesthood would be one cleansed "from everything foreign."

TLevi 9:9-10 (a citation of the priestly marriage law in Lev 21:1-15) shows that this concern for ethnic purity continued to be specifically focused on priestly marriages in the third century.

Be on guard against the spirit of promiscuity, for it is constantly active and through your descendants it is about to defile the sanctuary. Therefore take for yourself a wife while you are still young, a wife who is free of blame or profanation, *who is not from the race of alien nations.*

⁴⁸Suter, "Fallen Angel," and Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi and Peter," 582-587. Nickelsburg understands this critique to be limited to 12-16, in which the earlier strata of 6-11 has been reinterpreted.

A strong point in Nickelsburg's argument is the northern Palestinian location for revelation (the area of Dan - 13:4-8, and the reference to Mt Hermon in chapter 6:6, 12:4, 15:3) instead of Jerusalem. Also note the emphasis upon the celestial, versus earthly, sanctuary, 12:4, 14:8ff. Elsewhere in 1En, Jerusalem is still considered the "sacred center" of the land (25:4-6, 26:1-2, 89:50, 90:20-36). Yet, no text in the earlier strata of 1En considers Jerusalem "pure" in the present era.

⁴⁹Suter, "Fallen Angel," 120.

⁵⁰A. Büchler, "Family Purity and Family Impurity in Jerusalem before the Year 70 CE.," in *Studies in Jewish History* (ed. I. Brodie and J. Rabinowitz; Büchler Memorial Volume; London: OUP, 1956) 64-98.

Both Suter and Nickelsburg have presented convincing evidence to support their conclusion that concern regarding priestly marriages lies behind 1En 6-16. The Watchers took for themselves wives prohibited them by divine decree. As the violation of cosmic boundaries resulted in great evil for mankind, so the violation of social boundaries in illegitimate priestly marriages results in the defilement of the priesthood⁵¹ and destruction for the people of God. Thus 1En 6-16 is a critique from within Judaism of what were understood to be shortcomings in the established religious hierarchy. The creation tradition found in Gen 6 is utilized in 1En 6-16 to support a sectarian concern for ethnic and religious purity.⁵²

Similarities between the angelic and priestly function as intercessors (1En 15:2-4) and as teachers of wisdom and knowledge (1En 7-8, compare Mal 2:6-7, Jub 4:15)⁵³ point also to an intentional parallel being drawn. The many parallels between the earthly temple and the heavens also point to the same conclusion. The rebellious angels are barred from the "heavenly sanctuary" (1En 13:5; 14:15) in a manner which corresponds to a priest defiled by illegitimate marriage being excluded from Temple service.⁵⁴

Thus we have in this early apocalyptic writing an example in which biblical creation tradition (Gen 6) has been recast to address the concern for ethnic purity, particularly as it impacts the religious sphere. *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology is focused upon the question of priestly purity in 2nd Century sectarianism.

⁵¹The theme of defilement through contact with women and with blood points towards the halakhic and legal concerns behind the telling of the myth (1En 7:1, 9:8, 10:11, 12:4, 15:3-4). This results in their being barred from the "heavenly sanctuary." See Suter, "Fallen Angel," 118-119 for greater detail.

⁵²"The analogical relationship between the angels and the priests points toward an apocalyptic myth that deals with an internal rather than external threat to the integrity of the Jewish community." Suter, "Fallen Angel," 134.

⁵³The secrets taught by the Watchers may be related to the Promethean arts and sciences - see Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 399-401. This may be a deliberate link to the Hellenized Jewish aristocracy. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.190, 2.127 and Suter, "Fallen Angel," 134.

⁵⁴Suter, "Fallen Angel," 123-124. For the exclusion of priests from service at the altar by illegitimate marriage, see Josephus, *Ap.* 1.36 and *Ant.* 11.308. Compare the polemics against priestly defilement in CD 5:6-7 and PssSol 8:12. Suter, "Fallen Angel," 124-133 examines in detail the issue of priestly purity in TLevi and the Damascus Document.

2.2c. Eschatological Renewal: The Great Judgment and the Growth of the Plant of Righteousness

We have already noted the *Urzeit - Endzeit* typology between the Flood and the final Great Judgment. Enoch is told that the imprisonment of the Watchers and the destruction of their offspring through the Deluge is to be followed by the healing of the earth and the restoration of human society (10:1-7, 12-15). The idea that new creation involved the defeat of hostile spiritual forces (and at times their earthly representatives) is a central element in apocalyptic eschatology. It is an eschatological expression of the association of creation and conflict found in Zion theology (*Chaoskampf, Völkerkampf*) and in the historical recollection of the Exodus (WisSol 11-19) and the return from exile (Isa 40-55).

1En 10:3 establishes the role of Israel in history: from Noah a "plant shall be planted and established for all generations for ever." The *Urzeit-Endzeit* pattern is made explicit in 1En 10:12-22. Following the great day of final judgment (vv 12-14) and the destruction of all the evil spirits (v 15),⁵⁵ iniquity will be cleansed from the earth, and "there shall appear the plant of righteousness; and it shall be a blessing, and deeds of righteousness shall be planted with joy for ever" (v 16). This dual reference to the plant of righteousness, following the first universal judgment and following the final universal judgment, reveals the centrality of Israel in the eschatology of 1En. Thus, while the dualism of 1En is focused on the ethical (and covenantal) distinction between the righteous and unrighteous, the sectarians still considered themselves the righteous *of Israel*. That is to say, nationalistic hopes and the symbols of nationalism (temple, land, army) were not replaced in sectarian eschatology. Rather, they become the exclusive property of these righteous few.

There is also a clear *Urzeit-Endzeit* relationship between Gen 1-2 and the description of the end of time in 1En 10. The creation blessing, "be fruitful and multiply" will in the end time transform the small group of righteous Israelites into "tens of hundreds."⁵⁶

⁵⁵The destruction of the evil spirits clearly places what follows in the eschatological age. See 1En 15-16.

⁵⁶In 1QS 3:13-4:26, which we discuss below, the eschaton is a Renewal of creation when the righteous will inherit "all the glory of Adam" (4:23-26). Part of this Paradisical state is the promise of fruitfulness ("...it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness"), echoing the creation command "Be fruitful and multiply."

1En 10:17-20

- 17 And then all the righteous ones will escape
And become the living ones (Gen 2:7)
Until they multiply (Gen 1:28, 17:1-9 etc.)
and become tens of hundreds...
- 18 And in those days the whole earth will be worked (Gen 2:15)
in righteousness,
all of her planted with trees, (Gen 2:8-9) and will find blessing.
- 19 And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her - vines...
And every seed that is sown on her,
one measure will yield a thousand (measures)... (Gen 1:11-12)
- 20 And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement,
and from all oppression, and from all sin,
and from all iniquity which is being done on the earth.

The depiction of the New Creation as paradise restored also reflects the final chapters of Isaiah. The righteous shall have long and peaceful lives (1En 10:17, compare Isa 65:20), the earth shall bring forth abundance through cultivation and sowing (1En 10:18-19, compare Isa 65:21-22).⁵⁷ Once again, we have the application of primal time to ethnocentric interests - in this case, the description of Israel's blessings in the eschatological future.

Yet side-by-side with belief in the prosperity of Israel in the new creation is the depiction of salvation among the Gentiles. The ingathering of the Gentiles is depicted in 1En 10:21, "And all the children of men are to become righteous and all nations shall serve and bless me, and all shall worship me," a theme developed in great detail in Isa 66:18-23. All mankind will turn to God instead of being in rebellion to him (see also 90:30; 91:14). Furthermore, the entire earth is cleansed "from all defilement and from all uncleanness" (1En 10:22). It is returned to its holiness and sanctity as sacred space.

As our study of 1 Enoch will continue to show, an emphasis upon the priority and uniqueness of Israel in history and a concern to maintain her ethnocentric distinctiveness in the present was not a barrier to an offering of salvation to the Gentiles in the future. In the present age, Torah-keeping is of the utmost importance, and no compromise must be made in the face of the pressure to secularize and become "like the Gentiles." But in the new creation, the righteous among those who formerly needed to be kept at a distance will be included in the salvation of God.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 394. See 1En 91:14, compare Jub 23:27-29.

⁵⁸At the same time, because righteousness in 1En emphasizes the alignment of cosmic order and covenantal life, it is unlikely that the Gentiles could be conceived of as being included among the righteous unless they

2.3 1En 17-36

2.3a Enoch's Tour of the Cosmos

In these chapters, Enoch is taken by mystical ascent on a tour of the cosmos.⁵⁹ This revelatory experience directly counters the false teaching spread by the descent of the Watchers. The goal of the tour is the vision of the divine mount (which symbolizes God's sovereign power) and the prison abyss of those who rebelled against him (1En 19, 21).⁶⁰ The reward of the righteous and the punishment of transgressors is part and parcel of the design of the cosmos by the Creator, and is as sure and inevitable as the foundations of the world.

2.3b 1En 24-26 - The Elect and the Tree of Life

In 1En 24-26, Enoch is shown the mountain abode of God, which is surrounded by seven mountains. Enoch sees a fragrant and beautiful fruit bearing tree, such as he had never before seen. Michael the archangel explains to Enoch the following:

1En 25:4-26:2

(4)And as for this fragrant tree - no flesh shall be allowed to touch it until the great judgment, when there will be a recompense for all and a consummation for ever. (5)Then, to the righteous and pious its fruit shall be given to the elect *for food*, and it shall be transplanted to a sacred place⁶¹ beside the temple of the Lord, the everlasting King. (6)Then will they be glad exceedingly and rejoice and enter the holy place; and they shall bring (as an offering) into it its sweet-smelling odours in their very bones; and they shall live a longer life upon earth just as your fathers did: and in those days tortures, pains, labours and blows will not touch them. (7)Then I blessed

lived like righteous Israelites - unless they *Judaize*. We will discuss this in detail in the chapter on Galatians.

⁵⁹Newsom, "The Development of 1En 6-19," 323-328, understands 1En 17-19 to be related to the custom of the kings of the ANE showing off their wealth to impress visitors and show their power. The cosmic tour is meant to comfort the readers with a revelation of God's great power and wisdom.

⁶⁰Newsom, "The Development of 1En 6-19," 316, 323, 325.

The Aramaic Fragments clearly show 4 categories in the abode of the dead.

1. The righteous.
2. Sinners, specifically those who are enemies of the righteous.
3. Those who have died violent deaths and whose cases are yet to be heard.
4. "A class who were not completely debased, but whose sin was that they consorted with the sinners, here a probable reference to the 'fellow travellers,' the 'quislings' in Israel under the Seleucids or Roman oppressors." Black, 17. They will not face judgment but also will forego the resurrection. They will not be awakened from the sleep of death.

This section shows that thought had been given to refining the simple demarcation between the righteous and the sinners found throughout 1 Enoch. See Black, *Enoch*, 16-17.

⁶¹Black amends εἰς βορρᾶν (towards the north) to εἰς βορᾶν, which results in a much clearer reading of the text. For a discussion of the translation of this verse, see Black, *Enoch*, 171.

the Lord of glory, the King of the ages, because he has prepared such things for the righteous, and fashioned such things, and promised to give them to them.

(26:1)And from thence I was transported to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place, in which were trees... (2)And there I saw a sacred mount and coming forth from beneath the mount, from the east side, a stream...

The beautiful tree on the mountain of God is the tree of life.⁶² After the great judgment, the tree of life will be transplanted from the mountain abode of God to Jerusalem, the "middle of the earth" and the site of the temple.⁶³ This portion of 1En utilizes the ancient description of Jerusalem as the cosmic mountain. As we noted in the study of Zion tradition, paradise images and themes (such as the tree of life, sacred streams, and access to the presence of God) all are part of cosmic mountain imagery. Paradise motifs are used to depict eschatological Jerusalem. In the new Jerusalem, the elect will partake of the tree of life. Its very fragrance will permeate their bodies and will be as an incense offering when they "enter the holy place." They will enjoy the long life of the first humans and be freed from all pain.

We note here two major themes. First, *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology is applied to the future Jerusalem and the elect of God. Creation imagery is clearly focused upon ethnocentric concerns. Secondly, we can detect the presence of an implicit critique by the writer of the Jerusalem priesthood and cult. Partaking of the tree of life awaits the Jerusalem of the eschatological age. Furthermore, in that time, all the elect will function as priests in the holy place. The application of creation images in this section therefore reflects criticism from within Judaism of the present Jewish religious hierarchy.

2.4 Summary: the Book of Watchers

1. Cosmic order and covenantal faithfulness (Torah) are linked together. Sin is rebellion against the Law of God. This is illustrated by the contrast between the orderliness of the cosmos and the rebellion of humanity (1En 2-5). The primeval sin of the Watchers is

⁶²1En has two different locations for the trees of Gen 2-3. The tree of life is located at the mountain of God and the tree of wisdom/knowledge (the Gen 2 tree of the knowledge of good and evil) in the paradise of righteousness (1En 32). On the subject of these different traditions, see Black, *Enoch*, 171 and Milik, *Enoch*, 231, 235-6.

⁶³See Black, *Enoch*, 171-172 and Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi and Peter," 587.

also used to illustrate the disorder which results from overstepping divinely ordained boundaries (1En 6-16). Covenantal unfaithfulness is illustrated by means of creation itself and the primeval myth of the Fall of the Watchers. As Enoch's journey through the cosmos reveals, the means to reward the righteous and to punish the wicked is itself a part of the structure of the cosmos (1En 17-26).

2. The primeval story of the Watchers was also an exhortation to ethnic and religious purity. The failure to maintain such purity by the religious hierarchy would have an equivalent devastating result in the present.

3. *Urzeit-Endzeit* imagery is used to show the centrality of Israel, the plant of righteousness, in world history and to describe the reward of the righteous in the future. Those faithful to the Torah in the present will live in the future in a state described in terms of the Paradise imagery of Gen 1-3 (1En 10:17-19). Similarly, Jerusalem in the future age is described in terms of Eden and as the cosmic mountain in the centre of the earth. There, the righteous partake of the Tree of Life, which releases its fragrance as an incense offering as the righteous enter the holy place of the Temple (25:4-26:2).

4. The destruction of hostile spiritual powers is part of the process of new creation (1En 10:4).

5. The inclusion of the Gentiles in eschatological salvation, a key theme in Isaiah, is also repeated in the Book of Watchers (1En 10:21). Thus, the Book of Watchers is exclusive in the present time, in which issues that were "boundary markers" were of central concern, but inclusive in terms of the eschatological era. As we shall see, this contrast between present exclusion and future inclusion is a re-occurring idea in 1 Enoch.

3. The Astronomical Book: 1En 72-82

3.1 Introduction.

The Astronomical Book (henceforth AB) claims to set forth revelation of the function and ordering of creation given to Enoch. Revealed to him are cosmological mysteries, particularly concerning the movement of the heavenly bodies.⁶⁴ Along with the cosmological material are eschatological and parenetic sections. The earliest of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran have been dated to the late third or early second century, making the AB one of the oldest sections of 1 Enoch (if not the oldest).

3.2 The Eschatological Focus of the Book

Although the content of the Astronomical Book is concerned chiefly with the present function and ordering of the cosmos, the introduction to the book establishes the eschatological context of this cosmological description.

1En 72:1⁶⁵

...he (Uriel) showed me all their treatises and the nature of the years of the world unto eternity, till the new creation which abides forever is created.

Thus, the AB is forward looking in its horizon.⁶⁶ Understanding present creation and the manner which cosmic order informs covenantal life is in anticipation of participating in the new creation.

The eschatological theme is also picked up in 1En 80.⁶⁷ "In the days of the sinners the years will become shorter," and great disruption will occur in the cosmic realm.

⁶⁴The attributing of the origin of cosmological knowledge and astrology to Enoch has been researched in much detail. See particularly VanderKam, *Enoch*, 76-105. The claim that the 7th patriarch of Israel was the founder of these sciences could be interpreted as nationalistic polemic. See Pseudo-Eupolemus as cited in *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.17.8-9, "Enoch first discovered astrology, not the Egyptians... The Greeks say that Atlas discovered astrology. However, Atlas is the same as Enoch. The son of Enoch was Methuselah. He learned everything through the angels of God, and so knowledge came to us."

⁶⁵Unless noted, the ET of the Astronomical Book is taken from *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 1985). Henceforth, *OTP*.

⁶⁶Contra VanderKam, *Enoch*, 78.

⁶⁷Many scholars consider chapter 80 to be a later addition or interpolation: see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893) 170, and VanderKam, *Enoch*, 76-78. The theme of the chapter is similar to 1En 5. As Black, *Enoch*, 252, has pointed out, the material has clearly been "adapted" to the astronomical context. The AB without chapters 80-81 lacks any sense of apocalyptic eschatology - see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 225 n. 42. Perhaps these chapters were incorporated for this very purpose.

Reflecting the lawlessness of humanity, the creation will begin to err from the cosmic laws established by God. As sinners continue in their error, "evil things shall be multiplied upon them; and plagues shall come upon them, so as to destroy all." All of chapters 80-81 deal with the distinction between the righteous and sinner. The theme of eschatological judgment found throughout 1En frames the cosmological description in the AB.⁶⁸

3.3 The significance of the calendar for sectarian movements in Judaism.

Scholars agree that the description of the cosmos in the AB is done with one central purpose in mind: to defend the 364-day solar calendar practised in the community from which the text emerged. The AB declares emphatically that "the days of the year add up to exactly three hundred sixty-four days" (1En 72:32, cf. also 74:10-17, 75:1-2, 79:5, 82:4-7, 11, 15, 18).⁶⁹ This calendar is clearly a sectarian creation, standing in contrast to the 354-day luni-solar calendar, documented in detail in Rabbinic writings and which with high probability was the "official" calendar which regulated cultic practice in the Temple in this period.⁷⁰ Interestingly, the polemic found in 1En 83 is not directed towards the luni-solar

⁶⁸See R. T. Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar: Marks of their Origin, Date and Motivation," *RQ* 10 (1981) 388-400 for the overlap in themes between the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book.

⁶⁹See M. D. Herr, "The Calendar," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (2 vols.; ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976) 2.839-843, and Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature," 365-403, especially 373-387, for a detailed description of the 364 day calendar and an overview of calendrical practices in the ANE.

⁷⁰A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953) 250-64, argued that the 364 day calendar is reflected in late priestly writings. Therefore it was a tradition from which the Jerusalem priesthood strayed away. Thus, the author of the AB is calling for a return to the "orthodox" tradition. Jaubert's thesis has recently been re-examined by J. VanderKam, "The Origin, Character and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypotheses," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 390-411. While differing with Jaubert on many specific points, VanderKam agrees that the 364 day calendar was the official cultic calendar early on in the Second Temple period. However, by the time of Ben Sira, lunar elements had been introduced into it. VanderKam points to 2 Macc 6:7a and 1 Macc 1:59 as possibly describing the situation in which such "corruption" was introduced.

Both Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature," 365-403 and P. R. Davies, "Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 80-89 have refuted the Jaubert/VanderKam position. In particular, Davies notes that the sectarians themselves date the "corruption" of the calendar to the beginning of the Second Temple period. Jub 1:13-14 dates the departure from the divinely revealed solar calendar to after the exile and before the return. CD 3:13-14 states that after "the desolation of the land" God revealed to the remnant "the hidden things in which Israel had gone astray." These matters specifically involve calendrical observances. Also rejecting Jaubert's hypothesis is M. D. Herr.

J. VanderKam, "The 364-Day Calendar in the Enochic Literature," 157-65 in *SBL 1983 Seminar Papers* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) argues strongly against the AB being sectarian in nature. He attributes this to the lack of polemical tone, particularly in contrast to the presentation of the 364-day calendar in

354 day calendar but against a 360 day calendar of 12 30-day months (one which failed to include the 4 intercalated dates so strongly defended in the AB).⁷¹ The sectarian community where the AB originated was equally concerned to distinguish itself from another sectarian group as to distance itself from the mainstream. The calendar described in the AB was also observed by other sectarian groups, as attested by its appearance in the book of Jubilees and in the Qumran documents.

The calendar of the AB shows "an extreme scrupulousness about the sabbath rest."⁷² This is combined with an equally strong belief in predestination. Every Sabbath and feast was to be celebrated at precisely the pre-determined time ordained by God, just as in historical apocalypses every period of history was understood to have been decreed in advance by God.⁷³

The importance of the calendar in the midst of sectarian tensions can be fully appreciated when it is remembered that the calendar would regulate the celebration of all annual feasts and cultic rituals as well as the observance of the Sabbath command. Sects which followed a different calendar would soon find themselves at visible and obvious odds with other Jews. As S. Talmon has written with reference to the calendar of the Qumran community:

No barrier appears to be more substantial and fraught with heavier consequences than differences in calendar calculations. An alteration of any one of the dates that regulate the course of the year inevitably produces a break-up of communal life, impairing the coordination between the behavior of man and his fellow, and abolishes that synchronization of habits and activities which is the foundation of a properly functioning social order. Whosoever celebrates his own Sabbath and does not observe the festivals of the year at the same time as the community in which he lives, removes

Jubilees. However, VanderKam considers the eschatological/parenetic chapters of the AB, 80-81, to be additions. If read as part of the AB, these chapters definitely add a polemical tone to the writing.

⁷¹The 364 day calendar intercalates 4 days per year in its 30 day solar cycles. The failure to intercalate in this way was considered a sin. See 1En 75:1-3 and 82:4-7. Outside of the AB, there is no other evidence of any group active in Judaism during this period which utilized a 360 day calendar. See VanderKam, "The 364 Day Calendar," 164.

⁷²Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature," 382. This scrupulousness about the Sabbath was used by Jaubert (and later VanderKam) to argue for the use of the 364 day calendar in late Priestly writings, which show a similar sensitivity to the observance of the Sabbath.

⁷³Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature," 384-5. Beckwith also shows that in the Aramaic version an interest in the revival of the jubilee year is attested.

himself from his fellows and ceases to be a member of the social body to which he hitherto belonged.⁷⁴

The differentiation that the dissimilar calendar brought between a sect and normative Judaism was perhaps intentional, an attempt to establish "boundary markers and identity badges." As Talmon continues:

One may venture to say that the deviation from the calendar accepted by the normative community was for the Dead Sea Sect - as it was for other dissident groups... - a sign and symbol of their disobedience towards the contemporary public leadership of Judaism, and of their dissidence from the body politic. Their opponents rightly interpreted this act as a proclamation of civil revolt.⁷⁵

Upon closer examination, the calendar plays a crucial role in determining the righteous and the unrighteous, those included and excluded from the people of God. The findings of fragments at Qumran have shown that the original Aramaic version of the AB was significantly longer than the Ethiopic version.⁷⁶ This fact further underscores the importance of the issue of the calendar.

3.4 Cosmology and Righteousness

The basis for the "correctness" of the AB calendar is founded upon divine revelation to Enoch - knowledge given him by his angelic guides in his traverse across the cosmos. However, what is revealed to Enoch is not simply a divine decree, but how the calendar reflects the very ordering of creation itself. The detailed descriptions of how the cosmos functions is itself the foundation of the calendrical system being defended.⁷⁷ Creation theology takes on a new role in defining the "true" people of God, because the "science" of creation is brought to weigh upon theological understanding. Again, this "science" is not observed wisdom,⁷⁸ but revelatory knowledge given in mystical ascent. The important

⁷⁴S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) 162-164.

⁷⁵Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning," 164.

⁷⁶See Milik, *Enoch*, 7-8.

⁷⁷For a detailed analysis of the astronomical descriptions, see O. Neugebauer, "The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82)," Appendix A in Black, *Enoch*, 386-419.

⁷⁸Although the contents of the AB may reflect the observations of generations of scribes and wisdom teachers (the emphasis of Neugebauer, in Black, *Enoch*, 386) the writer establishes the validity of this knowledge not on observation but on the authority of mystical revelation.

"boundary markers and identity badges" of sabbath, feasts and cultic celebrations are thus determined by the disclosing of the mysteries of creation through mystical revelation. The use of creation theology to define the people of God extends in this period beyond the reinterpretation of Scripture and its creation stories. Mysticism, the corresponding avenue of revelation to Scripture, brings cosmological revelations into the process of defining those who stand in true covenantal righteousness.

Thus not only cosmogony, but cosmology, was a way in which creation theology was utilized to demarcate the righteous from the sinner. The revelation of the structure and function of the cosmos (and again, it is indeed "a revelation") determined the calendar, which determined the practice of Sabbath, feasts, and other cultic observances. The correct practice of such observances in turn determined to an important degree whether one was judged to be in righteous standing in relationship to the covenant, particularly among those who were a part of the growing sectarianism within Judaism. As M. E. Stone writes:

For this author, the observance of correct calendar was directly related to moral rectitude. Indeed, human evil will be connected profoundly with a perversion not merely of the computation of the calendar, but of the very astronomical cycles themselves (see chaps 80-81)... This moral aspect of calendar and astronomy serves to highlight the importance attributed to the revelation made to Enoch. This comprised the correct calendar and therefore revealed the true cosmic order. Hence, it is clear that for *The Book of the Luminaries*, calendar and astronomy are not part of secular science. They appertain to secret knowledge, sacred in character.⁷⁹

The sacred character of Enoch's revelation is highlighted by the fact that the 364 day calendar is for all practical purposes impossible to practice without the additional intercalation of 1 1/4 days per year. Without these additional days, each feast would retrograde almost one quarter every 70 years. Yet no instructions were given regarding these intercalations. Instead, 1En 80:2-8 attributes the disruption of cosmic order which resulted in the calendar being short 1 1/4 days per year to the sinfulness of the angels.⁸⁰ Jub 6:23-38 also notes the practical problems involved, yet still insists upon the same 364-day solar calendar. Noah is told in Jub 6:35-36 that the sons of Israel will "forget the feasts of the covenant and walk in the feasts of the Gentiles, after their errors and after their

⁷⁹Stone, *JWSTP*, 404.

⁸⁰Herr, 839-843 and Beckwith, "Earliest Enochic Literature," 387.

ignorance. And there will be those who will examine the moon diligently because it will corrupt the (appointed) times and it will advance from year to year ten days." Because they will chose not to follow the revelation of the 364 day calendar, even though it is nearly impossible to practise, but instead follow the Gentiles, Israel will "corrupt and make a day of testimony a reproach and a profane day a festival, and they will mix up everything, a holy day (as) profaned and a profane (one) as a holy day, because they will set awry the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees" (Jub 6:37). The insistence on observing the revealed calendar with all its acknowledged impracticality underscores the importance place upon divine revelation by the sectarians.

3.5 Summary: The Astronomical Book

The 364-day calendar, based on cosmological revelation, defined the sacred and profane both in regards to days and in regards to those called to observe such days. Cosmology not only served as an illustration of covenantal faithfulness (as in 1En 2-5), the cosmological insights recorded in the AB themselves had implications for one's covenantal standing. Not only cosmogony, the story of creation, but cosmology, the understanding of the structure of the creation, has implications for covenantal standing. The cultic calendar, which regulated the observance of Sabbath and feasts, was a reflection of cosmic order itself. Thus, a revelation of the hidden structure of the cosmos was essential for proper covenantal behavior. It was equally essential that Sabbath and feast days were celebrated on days determined by the correct calendar - for to fail to do so meant transgressing the laws of the Creator which govern the cosmos. This aspect of creation theology played a prominent role in establishing the identity of the people of God in Second Temple Judaism.⁸¹

⁸¹J. VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6, 7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 (1981) 52, commenting on 2Macc 6:7a (see also 1 Macc 1:59), argues that a calendrical dispute was one of the most significant reasons why the Qumran sectarians initially withdrew from the temple community based in Jerusalem. Similarly Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning," summarizes his intentions on p. 64 as being, "we shall attempt to present the calendar controversy as a decisive factor in the process of the formation of the *Yahad* as an organized social body cut off from the Jewish community." The significance of the calendar in the Qumran documents adds probability to this thesis. Yet, as Davies, "Calendrical Changes," 85 points out, hard evidence that a calendrical dispute initiated the formation of the Qumran community is completely lacking. Thus, the importance of the calendar remains a possible, but unproven, reason in determining the origin of the Dead Sea community.

Calendrical concerns, as a significant factor in separating the righteous from the sinner, brought together cosmology and eschatology.

4. The Ten Week Apocalypse: 1En 93:1-10; 91:11-17

4.1 Introduction

The Apocalypse of Weeks, or the Ten Week Apocalypse (10WApoc), is one of the earliest examples of a historic apocalypse among Jewish writings.⁸² In it, an overview of the history of the world is given, broken up into 10 Weeks. Each week (periods of unequal length) focuses around a significant occurrence or person in history. Employing the literary device of *vaticinia ex eventu*, the composition depicts Enoch "foretelling" the history of Israel from the first week (Enoch's time) to the seventh week (the present era of the apocalyptist). As is consistent with the apocalyptic mind-set, the writer's own era proves to be the pivotal point in salvation history, a time of hardship which precedes the beginning of the eschaton.⁸³ Weeks Eight through Ten describe a series of judgments in the human and angelic realms, and the creation of a new cosmos. Following this are "weeks without number," the eternal eschatological age. This schematization of history reflects the strong belief in predestination held by apocalyptic writers who employ this genre. The overview of history in historical apocalypses stresses the orderliness of the universe and the ultimate

⁸²For the specifics of this genre, see Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 7-13 and VanderKam, *Enoch*, 141-142.

91:11-17 is displaced in the Ethiopic version. The Aramaic Fragment 1En 8 conclusively shows that 91:11-17 immediately followed 93:1-10. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 49 and M. Black, "The Apocalypse of Weeks in the Light of 4QEn8," VT 28 (1978) 464. For a complete overview of the structure of the 10WApoc, see Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 38-44.

Although an independent unit from the Epistle of Enoch where it is presently found, scholars continue to debate whether the 10WApoc ever circulated on its own. Milik, *Enoch*, 255-6 has been the strongest proponent that they are by the same author. Black, "The Apocalypse of Weeks in the Light of 4QEn8," 464-9 believes that he has identified redactional work which gives evidence that the 10WApoc is an older source incorporated into the Epistle. F. Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (SPB 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 106-109 offers a much more complicated three-stage compositional process. See also VanderKam, *Enoch*, 144-145.

Since Jubilees makes allusions to both the Epistle of Enoch and the 10WApoc (see Jub 4:18), the writings both precede 160 BCE.

⁸³VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142.

control of God over human events, the same points being made in the cosmological sections of 1En we have already surveyed.

Most scholars agree that the writing reflects a "conservative" response to the Hellenistic liberalization of the Jewish upper classes in Palestine and the reforms which followed in the time preceding the Maccabean revolt.⁸⁴ It is helpful to pause and remember how this crucial period was recalled in 1 Macc 1:10-15.

1 Macc 1:10-15

- 10 From them came forth a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes...
 11 In those days lawless men came forth from Israel,
 and misled many, saying,
 "Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles round about us,
 for since we separated from them many evils have come upon us."
 12 This proposal pleased them,
 13 and some of the people eagerly went to the king.
 He authorized them to observe the ordinances of the Gentiles.
 14 So they built a gymnasium in Jerusalem,
 according to Gentile custom,
 15 and removed the marks of circumcision,
 and abandoned the holy covenant.
 They joined with the Gentiles and sold themselves to do evil.

The text describes how "lawless men" broke covenant with God and made covenant with the Gentiles. Instead of being "separated from them," these Jews "joined with the Gentiles." Thus precisely in the period in which the 10WApoc was written, the ethnocentric and nationalistic concerns which were finally expressed in the Maccabean revolt were very much at the forefront of the issues within Judaism. As our study bears out, the 10WApoc is a response against the inroads of the Gentile world into Jewish society.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 136-140 defends a Maccabean dating, around 166. Those who follow this line of interpretation argue that the "sword" given to the righteous in the eighth week (91:12) represents Judas and his followers. In the Ethiopic version, this is supported by the mention twice in 91:11 that the sinners "will be destroyed by the sword." However, the specific references to the sword is not in the Aramaic version of 91:11. See Milik, *Enoch*, 266 and VanderKam, *Enoch*, 146. It seems best to interpret the "sword" as an anticipated divine favor to be bestowed upon the righteous in the conflicts ahead, and to accept the pre-Maccabean date proposed by R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 218-227, and F. Martin, *Le Livre d'Hénoch. Traduit sur le texte Éthiopien* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906) xciv, xcvi-xcvii. However, Charles and Martin both considered the righteous to be the Pharisees and the sinners the Sadducees (both in the 10WApoc and the Epistle of Enoch), a proposal which seems much too specific for the details given by the text. See VanderKam's critique, *Enoch*, 142-144.

⁸⁵As A. B. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament in Hellenistic Jewish Milieu," *JSJ* 6 (1975) 57-91 has shown, the emergence of the use of "testaments" attributed to primordial or patriarchal OT figures is a reflection of the effort to keep Jews faithful to Judaism in the midst of Hellenistic influences. Such testaments claim for ethnic Israel that knowledge of the cosmos, of history and of the future have been in her possession since the beginning of time. Furthermore, since ancient figures were able accurately to "predict" the periods of history, those under present duress can be sure that the salvation promised to them is just as certain. As

4.2 The Election from among the Elect: The plant of righteousness

The introduction (91:1-2) states the theme of the apocalypse to be "concerning the children of righteousness, concerning the elect ones of the world, and concerning the plant of truth." Who are these people described by the three synonymous phrases?⁸⁶ As the offspring of Abraham (in the third historical week 93:5), the "plant of truth" is initially the nation of Israel. However, in the Seventh Week a distinction is made between those who will be "elected the elect ones of righteousness *from* the eternal plant of righteousness" (93:10) and the "apostate generation" (93:9), or the "oppressors and sinners" (91:12). From the elect nation a select group will emerge. Thus, the writer understands his time to be a period of the demarcation of the boundaries between the righteous and sinner in Israel.⁸⁷

This seventh week is also a period of divine revelation, in which the chosen righteous will receive "seven-fold wisdom and knowledge." The impartation of divine revelation leads to political revolution: the "plant of righteousness" will destroy their unrighteous counterpart: "And they will have rooted out the foundations of violence and the structure of falsehood therein..." (91:11).⁸⁸ The religious convictions of the group impact the political realm. They are a sacred instrument of judgment in the world, who will uproot oppression and with a divinely given sword destroy the wicked. As Reid writes: "... 10WApoc proposes that the political aspirations of the community coincide with the divine aspirations for the community."⁸⁹

Kolenkow summarizes on 70-71, the testament genre serves "to show the Jewish priority and thus the authority of Jewish revelation beyond that of the nations... Jews are encouraged to stay Jews."

⁸⁶Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 47-48. Reid goes on to show on p. 49 that the "plant of truth/righteousness" imagery is closely associated with the restoration theology found in many exilic and post-exilic texts.

⁸⁷This fundamental distinction between the righteous/righteousness and the wicked/sin is equally prominent throughout the Epistle of Enoch. This adds credence to the coterminous composition of the 10WApoc and the Epistle.

⁸⁸Translation from the Aramaic by Milik, *Enoch*, 266. Before the Aramaic Fragments proved definitively that 91:11 was included in the description of the 7th week, many interpreters attempted to link it to the eighth week. But the Aramaic Fragments conclusively show that the author understood his own time to be that in which false religion and political oppression would be "rooted out." See Black, "The Apocalypse of Weeks in the Light of 4QEn^g," 464-5. See also on this section G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 146.

Note the similarity to the description of the Second Week, where in the period preceding the Flood, "falsehood and violence shall spring up." This shows the strong eschatological awareness and imminent expectation of the Great Judgment by the author and his community, as here in keeping with the rest of 1En, the analogy between the time before the Flood and the author's own time is forcefully drawn.

⁸⁹Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 51.

The Law, both as the commands of the covenant (93:4, 93:6) and as the record of salvation history,⁹⁰ was of central importance to the community from which the 10WApoc emerged. The distinction between Gentiles and Jews is seen by the manner the writer distinguishes between "a law for the sinners" (91:5, the Noahic laws given in the third week)⁹¹ and his description of the giving of the Torah in the fourth week: "A law shall be made with a fence, for all the generations" (91:6).

Emphasis is also placed upon the association of the divine glory with the Temple and cult. The building of the Temple of Solomon in the fifth week is described as the "completion of glory" (93:7). In the eighth week, the first eschatological period, a house will be "built for the Great King in glory for evermore." The two descriptions of the glorious Temple are separated by the sixth week, in which the temple was destroyed, and the seventh week, the present era of the apocalyptist. Thus, the placing of the restoration of the glorious temple in the future reveals the critical attitude of the writer towards the present Temple and its cult, dominated by those who have become apostates as a result of Gentile influence. The writer is also concerned with the eschatological rule of Israel. He associates the building of the Temple with the rise of the kingdom of Israel in the first week, and identifies the restored Temple in the eighth week as the house "for the Great King."

This concern in the text for the central traditions of Israel's faith, traditions under threat at the time of the writer, is supported also by sociological analysis. Reid has shown that the group in question is oppressed both economically (see 93:13) and religiously by those who they consider as "apostates." Placed into the historical context, the "apostates" would be those who have risen to prosperity and power by conforming to the influences of

⁹⁰This aspect of the Torah is shown also by the apocalyptic genre the writer has utilized. See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142. The writer of 1En portrays revelation coming to Enoch in a three-fold manner: heavenly visions, teaching by angels and understanding from the heavenly tablets. As is common in apocalyptic literature, the citing of revelatory credentials is meant to add credence to the apocalypse which follows. However, within the Jewish context, the genre of historical apocalypse actually reflects much less of a mystical origin. In contrast to the revelation set forth in the Astronomical Book, gained perhaps through contemplation and observation of nature and natural phenomena, the 10WApoc is itself a reflection upon the Hebrew Scriptures. By studying what has been recorded of the past, historical apocalypses interpret the present and anticipate the future.

⁹¹Even if the reference is not to God's covenant with Noah but to Noah's instructions to his sons, as in Jub 6:8, 7:20, (see Black, *Enoch*, 289-90), a distinction is still evident in these laws which apply for all humanity and the giving of the Torah to Israel in the fourth week. For Gentiles as "sinners," compare Gal 2:15.

Hellenism.⁹² Thus, the "elected from among the elect" is a sector of conservative Palestinian Jews, committed to maintaining the values of traditional Judaism in the face of those who have literally "sold out" to Gentile influences. The 10WApoc is intended to comfort and inspire these who were willing to hold to the distinctives of their faith, for it depicts the imminent vindication of the righteous and their beliefs in the eschaton which is to follow the present era of persecution.

The 10WApoc illustrates the compatibility of sectarianism and nationalism. In the present era, the focus is upon the ethical distinction between the righteous and unrighteous in Israel. But as the eschatological process begins, the righteous are "given a sword" to overthrow the oppressors and destroy the wicked, this political action the first in the series of divine judgments leading to the new creation.

4.3 The Eschatological Future as New Creation

The Eighth Week of righteousness marks the transition from the review of history to eschatological expectations. The era of righteousness is brought about through an exercise of divine judgment. The process of divine judgment within Israel which began in the Seventh Week culminates in the Eighth Week. A "sword shall be given to all the righteous to execute a righteous judgment from all the wicked."⁹³ Following the final overthrow of the oppressors, the righteous acquire possessions (probably land and property)⁹⁴ and as noted above, the Temple shall be built and stand forever. In the Ninth Week, the process of judgment is extended over the entire earth.⁹⁵ The wicked will be removed from the earth

⁹²Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 45-46. Reid writes on 50: "The oppressors in 1En 91:12 are the members of the Jewish hierarchy functioning on behalf of the forces of occupation in Palestine."

⁹³Following the Aramaic version. The Ethiopic reads "A sword shall be given to it in order that judgment shall be executed in righteousness on the oppressors, and sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous." See Vanderkam, *Enoch* 148.

⁹⁴In the Epistle of Enoch (1En 92-105), the fundamental theme is that although the sinners prosper in the present and oppress the righteous, the situation will be reversed at the judgment. An important contrast is between the present wealth of the sinners and the future blessing of the righteous. See the following by G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 112-130, "Riches and God's Judgment in Enoch and Luke," *NTS* 25 (1978-79) 326-332, "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1983) 650-654, "The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 309-328.

⁹⁵See Black, *Enoch*, 293-4.

and all who remain "shall look to the true, eternal path" (91:14). The Tenth Week extends this judgment to the angelic world, where at the time of the Great Judgment, the Watchers will be judged. Thus, judgment begins against the wicked in Israel (Weeks 7 - 8), is widened to include the wicked "from upon the whole earth" (Week 9) and is completed with the judgment of hostile spiritual forces (Week 10). These eschatological events confirm the identity of the sectarians as the "true people of God." As Collins writes concerning the central purpose of the 10WApoc,

The overview of history and the cosmic judgment provide encouragement for the "chosen righteous" and, more basically, confirm their special status in the design of God.⁹⁶

Certainly, all Gentiles who presently oppress the righteous will be destroyed in the judgment. But after wicked Jews and Gentiles are destroyed, all who remain "shall look to the true, eternal path" (91:14). Thus, the vindication of the sectarians and the destruction of the wicked is tempered by this universalistic hope. This type of thinking is very much in keeping with the *Völkerfahrt* tradition we have reviewed in the OT. As we have noted, such universalism is implicitly a type of nationalism. Gentiles are included in the hope of the eschaton, but at the same time the beliefs of the conservative Jewish sector is proven to be "the true, eternal path." Throughout 1En, we notice a two-sided attitude towards the Gentiles. In the present age, the distinction between Jew and Gentile is highlighted and reinforced. Yet, in the new creation, after the righteous have been vindicated, Gentiles are understood to be included in the hope of salvation.

Following the series of judgments a description of new creation is given, comparable to Isa 65:17 and 66:22.

1En 91:16-17

16 ...the first heaven shall pass away,
 And a new heaven shall appear,
 And all the powers of heaven will shine and rise for ever and ever,
 with seven-fold light.

⁹⁶Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 52.

- 17 And thereafter there shall be many Weeks,
 to all their number there shall be no end for ever,
 In which they shall practise goodness and righteousness;
 And sin shall be no more *seen* for ever.
- 17b⁹⁷ And the righteous shall awake from their sleep
 And they shall arise and walk in the paths of righteousness;
 And unrighteousness shall altogether cease,
 And the earth will be at rest from oppression,
 for all generations for ever.

Righteousness will abound and sin forever eradicated in the eschatological age. This hope can be traced back clearly to the prophetic literature from the time of the exile which we earlier reviewed. But why should a "new heaven" bring about covenantal faithfulness and righteousness among the elect?

The renewal of the heavens is the climax of the judgment of the angelic realm. Especially because the Enochic tradition places such emphasis on sin originating with the fall of the Watchers, it is only when the "spiritual forces" are brought into order that humanity is able to live in righteousness. The problem of sin is introduced in the second historical week and is throughout the apocalypse a parallel theme to the history of salvation. It is alternately described as falsehood, violence, blindness, forsaking wisdom, perversion, apostasy, or wickedness. The first judgment, the flood, was not a solution to the problem of sin, for after the flood "oppression shall increase" (93:4). In keeping with other apocalyptic writings, a new creation is the only solution to the problem of sin. The 10WApoc seems to reflect the belief that the power of sin must be dealt with in the heavenly realm. Therefore it is only when the "new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of heaven will shine and rise for ever" that covenantal righteousness will mark human existence. Perhaps this is why the 10WApoc speaks only of a "new heaven," not a "new heaven and a new earth" as is described in the Isaiah texts which clearly form the background to the terminology employed. The ethical righteousness of the eschatological age goes beyond the

⁹⁷The Aramaic fragments 1En⁸ indicates that verse 17 is longer than in the Ethiopic, but is not in a condition where any conclusive wording can be established. Milik proposes 91:10 for 17b. For the translation above, Black reconstructs the missing verse from 92:3. While it describes the rise of righteousness and the cessation of sin, as does the rest of the apocalypse, it brings in the idea of resurrection (in keeping with the Book of Watchers) as well as the theme of the eschaton as a period of (Sabbath?) rest. Neither Milik's nor Black's reconstructions can be accepted with full certainty. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 51.

transformation of the human heart, as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It involves the judgment of hostile spiritual powers.

Thus, the righteousness and peace which follows the passing away of the first heaven and the appearance of a new heaven in 1En is very similar to OT traditions. Two things should be noted. First, the problem of sin in the world is made to include hostile spiritual powers. Chaos is not only the agent of God's judgement or the description of the result of sin, it becomes personified as hostile spiritual powers which must be overthrown for creation to be as intended by God. Secondly, the language of "new creation" is used to distance the righteous within Israel from those Jews who have abandoned the Torah and profaned the Temple by allowing Gentile influence to alter the traditions of the fathers. These who have failed to value the traditions of Judaism and made themselves one with the Gentiles will with the Gentile sinners be destroyed. Thus human evil, and the spiritual forces behind this evil, will pass away with the old heavens. The appearance of the new heaven where "all the powers of heaven will shine... with sevenfold light" marks the beginning of the weeks without end. The righteous, those who have been oppressed because of their refusal to give in to Hellenistic influences, shall forever enjoy life in the new creation.

4.4 Summary: The 10 Week Apocalypse

1. This text reveals a conservative response to the "secularization" threatening Judaism by the spread of Hellenism. The community from which the text emerged placed high value on the central traditions of Judaism, and sought to encourage faithfulness to them in spite of persecution and social difficulties. The community also saw that its religious convictions would soon impact the political sphere. They would become divine agents through whom all oppression would be uprooted and divine order begin to be established in the world.

2. The apocalypse reveals a growing distinction between the righteous and unrighteous within Israel. At the same time, an ethnic dualism is still present alongside the ethical dualism. Gentiles are "sinners," the Law is a fence, and the eschatological hopes of the sectarians includes the nationalism fundamental to Zion theology: the restoration of Jerusalem as cosmic mountain, the dwelling of the Great King which is the focal point of all the earth.

3. As in the Book of Watchers, a contrasting view of the Gentiles is also evident in the 10WApoc. In the present era, all Gentile "secularization" must be resisted, but in the future, Gentiles who survive the final judgment will "direct their sight to the path of uprightness."

4. The future is described as a New Creation, an eternal reward for the righteous. A distinctive feature of the description of the new creation is that human sin is the result of hostile cosmic powers which will only be eradicated with the creation of a new heavens.

5. The Animal Apocalypse: 1En 85-90

5.1 Introduction

The Animal Apocalypse is the second of two dream-visions which make up the "Book of Dreams" (1En 83-90). Like the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Animal Apocalypse is a historical apocalypse. Thus, in it are found literary characteristics such as the periodization of history and the use of *vaticinia ex eventu*. Also in evidence is the theological understanding of the present era as the crucial turning point before the eschaton. In common with many apocalypses, the purpose of the writing is to encourage the faithful to maintain their fidelity to the covenant in the midst of oppression. The "Animal Apocalypse" gets its name because various types of animals are used to represent human figures in an

overview of Israel's history.⁹⁸ The transition from the use of *vaticinia ex eventu* to authentic predictions in 90:16-17 reveals the date of the writing of the apocalypse to be in the late 160's BCE, after the rise of Judas Maccabeus, but before his death (of which there is no mention).⁹⁹

5.2 The Inter-relationship of the Two Dream Visions

Although each of the dream visions can stand as independent units, Reid has shown their inter-relationship, and particularly, the importance of understanding the first vision in interpreting the second vision.¹⁰⁰ The first vision, 1En 83-84, foretells the Flood. The typological function of the flood is obvious: as those who listened to Enoch were warned of imminent divine judgment, so those who hear this apocalypse must realize they stand at the threshold of the last judgment.¹⁰¹ Two major themes are established in the dream-vision. They are, as Reid has put it, (1) the extent of salvation and (2) the basis of salvation.¹⁰² The extent of salvation is strictly limited: the events of the Flood show that salvation is not universal - it belongs only to those of the posterity of Enoch, "the flesh of righteousness and uprightness" (84:6). However, the dream-vision also gives hope to the righteous who suffer by reminding them that the basis of salvation is the power and wisdom of God. The soteriological themes of the first dream-vision thus set the tone for the historical overview and eschatology of the second dream-vision.

5.3 From Adam to Israel

The description of the primordial era at the beginning of the AA introduces a symbolic image which plays the crucial role in the "zoomorphic" overview of history.¹⁰³

⁹⁸See Black, *Enoch*, 19, who describes the AA as a "zoomorphic history of the world."

⁹⁹See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 160-163 and Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 93, for an overview of scholarly discussion.

¹⁰⁰Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 52ff.

¹⁰¹VanderKam, *Enoch*, 160.

¹⁰²Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 57-58.

¹⁰³A close examination of the depiction of the primordial era shows a close affinity between these chapters of 1 Enoch and "wide-spread and ancient haggadic tradition," particularly *Midrash Rabbah*. See A. F. J. Klijn, "From Creation to Noah in the Second Dream-Vision of the Ethiopic Henoch," in *Miscellanea*

Adam is depicted as a white bull.¹⁰⁴ Seth, Noah,¹⁰⁵ Shem, Abraham and Isaac are also symbolized by white bulls. A transition occurs with the creation of Israel. Jacob is depicted as a white ram, his sons as 12 white sheep, and the successive generations of Israelites as sheep.¹⁰⁶ Thus, white bulls represent the patriarchal line extending from Adam to the founding of the nation of Israel. Adam is not only the first man, he is the first patriarch of the covenant people. The thrust of God's purpose in creating humanity runs directly from Adam to Israel.

In contrast to the white bulls and white sheep is the depiction of those outside this line of succession. Cain is depicted as a black bull, and his line (due to their inter-marriage with the Watchers)¹⁰⁷ is depicted as elephants, camels and asses. Similarly, the offspring of Noah's sons Ham and Japeth are depicted as wild animals, specifically, the Ishmaelites as asses and the Egyptians as wolves. Esau is represented by a wild boar. Wild animals and birds (usually predatory species) continue to be used to represent the Gentiles. The animals which represent the Gentiles are all unclean animals, a fact of special importance given the social tension and issues from which the text emerged.¹⁰⁸

The intention of the animal imagery chosen is clear. The zoomorphic depiction of history clearly separates Israel from among the nations and distinguishes between the clean and the unclean, a separation which exists *from the beginning of creation*. By tracing this distinction back to Adam, the author of the AA utilizes creation imagery to strengthen the ethnocentric boundary which was under threat by the influences of Hellenism.

Neotestamentica Vol 1 (ed. T. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn, W. C. Van Unnik; NovT Supp 47; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 147-159.

¹⁰⁴In the ANE, the bull is a common symbol of primordial power, particularly in Canaanite literature through its association with Baal. See Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 63.

¹⁰⁵Noah is transformed from a white bull to a man, showing his heavenly exaltation. Similarly, Moses is transformed from a sheep into a man.

¹⁰⁶For Israel as the flock of Yahweh, see Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 63 and VanderKam, *Enoch*, 165.

¹⁰⁷See Klijn, "From Creation to Noah," 150, 156-157.

¹⁰⁸Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 91.

5.4 Gentile Overlords and Spiritual Powers

Throughout their history, the sheep are frequently blinded and stray in apostasy. After judgment culminates with the exile, the Lord of sheep places his flock under the watch of seventy angelic shepherds. This situation is to remain until the eschaton. The idea of angelic overseers seems to reflect a number of diverse influences. It is logical that the overseers of sheep should be "shepherds" and there is a developed biblical theme that those who have neglected their duties as shepherds will be called to account (e.g. Eze 34).¹⁰⁹ Seventy is also the traditional number which stands for the Gentile nations (Gen 10), and there is also an well established tradition that while Yahweh himself was Israel's protector, He had appointed angelic powers over the nations (see Deut 32:8-9, Sir 17:17, Jub. 15:31ff, Dan 10:13, 20). It also seems that Jeremiah's prediction of seventy years (Jer 25:11) has been interpreted to be seventy periods of time (compare 1En 10:11-12, Dan 9:23f). Thus, in the seventy periods of time from the exile to the eschaton, Israel finds herself through the judgment of God under the control of the Gentiles and the spiritual powers of these nations.¹¹⁰ For eschatological freedom to come, liberation must occur in both the political and the spiritual realms.

¹⁰⁹Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 60-65, has argued that the period of the seventy shepherds is a midrash on Eze 34. In his interpretation, the main idea is that the community suffers because of the excesses of her rulers rather than due to her own sins. The shepherds are the Jewish rulers of Israel who have neglected the well-being of the sheep and instead acquired wealth and status through their position. This interpretation equates them with the apostate generation of the 10WApoc, not with Gentile rulers. This interpretation is particularly attractive because it fits well with the social tensions between the Hellenized hierarchy and traditional Judaism. Given the ambiguity of the imagery, Reid's interpretation could well have been that also of early readers of the text. However, arguing against the interpretation of shepherds are the following:

1. Previously in the AA, Israel's rulers are depicted as rams. Human figures represent angelic beings or human beings who have attained a heavenly state.
2. The shepherds are told that they will be the agent of destruction (judgment) for many of the sheep (89:60). If the shepherds stand for the "guardian angels" of the nations, this idea of Yahweh using the Gentiles as an instrument of judgment is well in keeping with OT concepts.

¹¹⁰This general line of interpretation is followed by Black, *Enoch*, 270-271, VanderKam, *Enoch*, 164-167, Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 92. VanderKam places emphasis on Jer 25 as the background of the text.

Comparison should be made with 4Q180-181, a commentary on the Book of Periods. Milik, *Enoch*, 251, reconstructs and translates the combined texts as follows:

Commentary on (the book of) periods created by God: each single period in order that [every past] and future event may be fulfilled. Before creating them He established the activities [of the angels in accordance with their periods], one period after another, (each one of) which is engraved on tablets [of heaven, and the Law is determined for] all the periods of their domination. This is the order of (generations after) the creation [of Adam; and from Noah to] Abraham. When he begat Isaac, there are ten [weeks].

And] commentary concerning Azaz'el and the angels 'who [went unto the daughters] of men and they gave birth to giants for them' (Gen 6:4). And concerning Azaz'el; [who led] Israel [astray to love] iniquity and to (wish to) possess wickedness, all [his (sc. Azaz'el's)] period, during seventy

The present era of the apocalyptist was one of great suffering for the sheep at the hand of Gentile rulers. Eagles (the Greeks), vultures (Egyptians), kites (local Palestinian enemies) and ravens (the Seleucids) pecked out the eyes of the sheep and devoured them (90:2).¹¹¹ The present era was also marked by a dichotomy among the sheep. Most "were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and terribly blinded" (90:7). However among the sheep were born some rams who "began to open their eyes to see" (90:4). Although they were persecuted, and their initial summons to the blind and deaf sheep went unheeded, eventually the eyes of the sheep began to be opened. The allegory recalls the rise of Judas Maccabeus ("a great horn") and his miraculous deliverance through divine intervention.¹¹²

5.5 The Eschatological Vindication of the Righteous

As we mentioned above, the apocalyptist, writing before the death of Judas, predicts the imminent close of the present age and the beginning of the eschaton. The eagles, vultures, raven, kites and wild sheep (90:16, apostate Jews), along with all the wild beast are swallowed up by the earth after it is struck by the rod of God's wrath (90:17-18). The "sheep" are given "a great sword" and proceed to slay "all the beasts of the field" (hostile Gentile nations). The nations flee from Israel. Political liberation is followed by the universal judgment. God takes up his abode (90:20ff) in Jerusalem, and sets up his throne for the Great Judgement in which the fallen Watchers, the seventy shepherds and the blinded sheep are all cast into the fiery abyss. Thus, the faithful in Israel are vindicated through liberation from political and spiritual powers which have oppressed from without and from apostates who have persecuted from within. Once again the transition from sectarian concerns (the demarcation of the righteous from the unrighteous) to active political nationalism is presented as a part of the eschatological process.

weeks, [*making* (them)] *forget* commandments, and the commandment concerning the mystery of [their (Law of)] impurity...

¹¹¹See Black, *Enoch*, 274-276 for the identity of the various birds.

¹¹²1 Macc 4:30f, 2 Macc 11:6ff.

5.6 New Creation as Salvation for Jew and Gentile

As we have already seen in our study of the OT, Israel's eschatological hopes contained belief both in the judgment and in the salvation of the nations. In the AA, the Gentile nations who oppressed Israel are to be destroyed. Yet, the remaining Gentiles are depicted as gathering together in the New Jerusalem. Following the Great Judgment, the old house (old Jerusalem/Temple) is carried away, and is replaced by a new and greater house (the new Jerusalem/Temple).¹¹³ The nations join the returning diaspora Jews in "the house" (91:34).¹¹⁴ The seer depicts the nations "falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to them and obeying them in everything" (91:30), reinforcing the ethnic dualism between Israel and the nations. Up to this point, the depiction of the place of Gentiles in the eschaton is well in keeping with one of the most ancient ideas in Judaism, the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations (*Völkerfahrt*). As we saw in our study of the OT, *Völkerfahrt* both includes the Gentiles in the blessing of the eschatological age and yet maintains the centrality, uniqueness and national/ethnic preeminence of Israel.

However, a radical idea is introduced in 91:37 with the appearance of a white bull before those gathered in the house.

1En 91:37

37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

¹¹³Compare Eze 40-48, Isa 54:11-12, Hag 2:7-9, Zech 2:6-13. The idea of a new Jerusalem coming down from heaven is prevalent in post-70AD apocalyptic writings: see 4Ez 7:26, 13:36, 2Bar 32:2-4. See Charles, *Enoch*, 214 and Black, *Enoch*, 278.

During these seventy periods, (including the time of the author), the cult at Jerusalem is considered to be condemned because "unclean bread" was being offered on the altar (89:73, compare TMoses 4:8). This critique on the present priestly hierarchy reinforces the sectarian nature of the writing. See Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi and Peter," 587, for the critical attitude held by many towards the Second Temple.

¹¹⁴This eschatological worship of the Gentiles in the new temple is reflected also in 1En 10:21 and in the Similitudes (1En 48:4-5).

TBenj 9:1-2 claims to reflect the words of Enoch. Although v 1 has not been located in any extant Enochic material (see *OTP*, 1.827 fn 9a), v 2 follows closely what is described in 1En 90:32-38.

1)From the words of Enoch the Righteous I tell you that you will be sexually promiscuous like the promiscuity of the Sodomites and will perish, with few exceptions... 2)But in your allotted place will be the temple of God, and the latter temple will exceed the former in glory. The twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the nations, until such time as the Most High shall send forth his salvation through the ministration of the unique prophet.

For additional references in the Pseudepigrapha to the ingathering of the Gentiles to the New Temple, see J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1958, 1982) 61. However as we shall see in the chapter on Galatians, Gentiles coming to Zion does not necessarily mean their "conversion."

Clearly, the reference is back to the line of white bulls, who, beginning with Adam, form the patriarchal line of Israel. This verse seems intentionally parallel to the creation blessings given to Adam and to Noah in which they are granted authority over all living creatures (Gen 1:26-30, 9:2). Note the connection between the creation blessing given to Noah, "The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every bird of the air..." (Gen 9:2), and the homage given to the white bull in 1En 91:37.¹¹⁵ Following the appearance of the white bull, the transformation which occurs among the other animals makes clear the *Urzeit-Endzeit* theme being employed.

1En 91:38

38 And I saw till all their species were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a buffalo, and that buffalo became a great animal with great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them and over all the oxen.

All the animals in the house, both Jew and Gentile, are transformed into the likeness of the white bull.¹¹⁶ This "messianic-type" individual is not only a figure who continues the patriarchal line, it is a new Adam.¹¹⁷ Like Adam, this second Adam figure becomes the beginning of a race of white bulls, humanity as God intended humanity to be.¹¹⁸ All humanity is incorporated into the purpose which began with Adam and the patriarchs of Israel.

¹¹⁵See also Sir 17:4.

¹¹⁶The enigmatic reference to the buffalo/wild-ox with black horns has puzzled commentators to this day. Is this figure the same as the eschatological white bull, or is it another leader of the eschaton? Some have resorted to massive textual emendation to make sense of the text, i.e. Charles, *Enoch*, 216. Perhaps M. Black's interpretation is the most creative, seeing in it a reference to the inclusion of the offspring of Ham. See M. Black, "The New Creation in 1 Enoch," *Creation, Christ and Culture* (Torrance FS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1976) 20-21.

¹¹⁷Milik, "Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique," 359, ET in Milik, *Enoch*, 45.

As an image of messianic hope, the eschatological white bull is not a redeemer figure (it plays no active role in the salvation of Israel). Although it seems that he plays a crucial role in the return of humanity to primordial perfection it is unclear what specific role he plays in the process. In light of this we can conclude that the Adam-typology is what is of most importance to the eschatology of the author, not the actual function of a messianic figure.

Many have understood the eschatological white bull to be the Messiah: see for example Charles, *Enoch*, 215-216, Klijn, "From Creation to Noah," 150, 158, Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 63.

¹¹⁸Adam as the father of all humanity has a strong emphasis in 1 Enoch. Outside of the historical apocalypses, see 32:6. Compare also the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants, 4QEn^c 2 and 3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 236-237), where the phrase "children of Adam" is used twice to describe humanity.

For our study, the most crucial element to note is the transformation of the converted Gentiles as well as the faithful Jews into white bulls,¹¹⁹ uniting into one all those transformed by the appearance of the second Adam. As Charles comments: "Thus mankind is restored to the primitive righteousness of Eden."¹²⁰ In light of the pervasive nationalism and elitism in what precedes in the AA and is to be found elsewhere in 1 Enoch, the radical nature of such inclusive eschatology is notable. Equally notable is the affinity between this section of 1 Enoch and Paul's Adam Christology.

Certainly the transformation of all into "white bulls" reflects a bolder universalism than is found in most other Jewish writings of this period. At the same time, an ethnocentric reading of the text is possible if we remember that in the AA Adam is not simply the father of all humanity but is the first patriarch of Israel. It could be said that in the eschatological age, all will live as "true, faithful Jews." Thus, a possible reading of this picture of universalism is as a fulfillment of sectarian hopes for the restoration of Israel. Yet, the bold stroke in portraying the transformation of Gentiles into true Jews is most arresting.

5.7 Summary

1. The Sectarian Perspective: Throughout the writing there is found a distinction between the righteous and apostate within Israel, sheep who have their eyes opened and those who are blinded. As Reid summarizes, the AA "reflects an internal conflict within second century Palestinian Judaism, a conflict which emanated from the struggle to determine the proper response to Hellenism... The traditions used in the text function, *inter alia*, to legitimate the anti-Hellenistic position of the community."¹²¹ As our study has shown, many of the traditions used by the author are images and traditions associated with

¹¹⁹A few scholars read this reference as applying only to the Jews, e.g., Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 29 limits the righteous to Israel. Most scholars understand the reference to be to the eschatological transformation of both Jews and Gentiles. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 93.

¹²⁰Charles, *Enoch*, 216.

In the Similitudes of Enoch (1En 60:8, 61:1-4, 70:3), Eden is the dwelling place of the righteous dead. The geographic sections of the BW and the AB reflect at least two differing traditions regarding the location of Paradise. See Black, *Enoch*, 17. However, as we saw in 24-25, and perhaps also reflected in the AA, Jerusalem itself becomes Eden in the eschaton.

¹²¹Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 65, also 62.

the creation story. Adam is not only the first human, he is the first Israelite and the patriarch of the nation. In contrast to the depiction of the patriarchal line as white bulls and Israel as sheep (even apostates are blind or wicked *sheep*), all outside the line of the elect are depicted as unclean animals, often wild and predatory in nature. This separation between the clean and unclean begins at creation itself. Thus the AA is a clear example of the way in which creation imagery was utilized to reinforce to ethnic and religious boundaries of conservative Judaism.

2. Eschatological liberation is to occur in both the political and spiritual realms. The righteous will actively participate in the destruction of the wicked and all nations shall come to Jerusalem to pay homage to the righteous. The AA still anticipates the fulfillment of OT nationalistic hopes.

3. Present exclusion is contrasted by future inclusion. Although the person of Adam was used to establish ethnocentric claims at the beginning of the AA, the eschatological Adam figure was used to indicate the inclusion of the Gentiles in eschatological salvation. After the eschatological transformation of humanity, the ethnic dualism is completely removed, as all become white bulls. Thus, creation imagery is used to include both faithful Jews and converted Gentiles in the eschatological people of God. But it is possible that even this universal indicates the ultimate triumph of Israel - in the eschaton, the world is only inhabited by faithful Jews, the time of the Gentiles having passed.

6. 1 Enoch: Conclusions

6.1 Creation Imagery and Ethnic Dualism

Given the historical context of the writings which comprise 1 Enoch, it is not surprising to find that the ethnic dualism between Jew and Gentile is strongly upheld. As we have seen, creation imagery and stories drawn from primeval myths were utilized to

reaffirm Israel's election, her unique role in history, and her eschatological glorification. In the Book of Watchers, the Plant of Righteousness plays the crucial role in both world history and eschatology. The Animal Apocalypse depicts Adam as the first patriarch of Israel. Furthermore, clean animals, oxen and sheep, are used to depict the patriarchs and Israel, while unclean animals, often predatory and violent, are used to depict the Gentiles. Thus, the distinction between clean and unclean peoples is established from the beginning of the creation. In many of the sections of 1En, the future vindication of the righteous is depicted in nationalistic terms: they will be "given a sword" by which to slay the wicked (1En 90:19-Gentile "beasts," 91:11-12-the wicked and oppressors), and righteous Israel will enjoy political preeminence. Nations come to Zion to pay homage to Israel in the New Creation, continuing the *Völkerfahrt* tradition of the OT.

6.2 Creation Imagery and Ethical Dualism

1 Enoch clearly reflects the conflict between a community of faith and a larger culture threatening its traditions, boundaries and distinctives. But the emphasis one finds in the various sections of 1 Enoch is less concerned about the threat of Hellenism from without as it is with the threat of Hellenism from within. The "righteous" adhere faithfully, even under great persecution, to the tenets of the community of faith, while apostates, because they are understood to be secularizing the sacred traditions, are seen as giving allegiance to the larger culture. Thus, not only those from without, but many from within, are oppressive enemies of the sect. Salvation is only fully achieved with the end of such secularization and the complete return to "traditional values" held by the community of faith.¹²²

Creation imagery is used to address the issue of the righteous and unrighteous within Israel. The story of the primeval sin of the Watchers shows that sin is rebellion against the Law of God (1En 6-16). In illustrating the devastation caused by the Watchers transgressing God-ordained boundaries, the writer warns those of his time to be careful to observe the social boundaries established by the Law (and enhanced by sectarian

¹²²Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 67-69.

interpretation). Particularly addressed is the area of priestly purity, where the crossing of social and ethnic boundaries was understood to result in the corruption of the Temple and its worship.

Sin as rebellion is also illustrated by the contrast between the cosmos, which obeys the laws of God, and humanity, which transgresses them (1En 2-5). However, cosmology is not limited to speculative wisdom or a parenetic function. True revelation of the cosmos was considered essential to maintaining a righteous standing in the covenant for those who hoped to participate in the new creation (1En 62-82). Furthermore, the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the unrighteous is built into the very structure of the cosmos, as Enoch's journey reveals (1En 17-36). As Collins writes, "History and eschatology are related to the structure of the universe, and salvation is attained by understanding that structure and adapting to it in righteousness."¹²³ The cultic calendar which determined Sabbath and feast days was itself a reflection of the structure of the cosmos. Those who failed to observe the "correct" calendar, and followed after the "ways of the Gentiles" (as the sectarians charged the priestly hierarchy as having done) were in conflict with the eternal laws of God which upheld the universe.

Creation imagery and theology was used specifically to critique the current Temple, its priests and its cult, all of which were considered to be defiled and secularized by Gentile influence.

6.3 The Transition to the Future

A consistent motivation behind the writings of 1 Enoch is to encourage the faithful to remain steadfast in spite of hardship and persecution. One way in which this was done was in portraying the contrasting destinies of the righteous and apostate following the Great Judgment. *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology is used to depict the Great Judgment with reference to the Flood: the present era of the apocalypse writer is as the period before the Flood. The

¹²³Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation," 135.

decisions made in the present were crucial in light of the imminence of the eschatological day.

These writings also reveal the hope that the present political and social systems would be overthrown and be replaced by ones in which righteousness would be free to be practised. The political and social realms became included in the religious aspirations of the community, because it was precisely these realms which threatened the faith of its members. Although persecuted in the present, the righteous would be instruments of divine judgment upon all the oppressors and all the unfaithful.

6.4 Eschatological Hope as New Creation

Throughout 1 Enoch creation language and imagery is used frequently to describe eschatological hopes. The new creation is described with reference to Gen 1-2 and Isa 65 (1En 5:7-10, 10:17-19, also mentioned in 72:1). In the future, renewed Jerusalem would be like Eden, the place where the righteous can partake of the tree of life (1En 25:4-26:2). The creation of new heavens is of particular significance. Behind all human sin and injustice is the power of sin. Because sin has its foundation in the spiritual realm, the righteousness longed for in the New Creation must have as a corollary the destruction of hostile and rebellious spiritual forces which have ruled mankind (1En 10:4, 91:15-17).

6.5 Present exclusion and future inclusion of the Gentiles

We have noted that part of the motivation of the apocalypses is to reinforce and defend the boundaries of traditional Judaism against the encroachment of the Gentile world. In the present era, the Torah was a fence (1En 93:6), and separation from the Gentiles was essential to prevent further secularization of sacred traditions.

However, as in Isaiah, the new creation in 1 Enoch brings with it a change of posture towards the Gentiles. While in the political realm all oppressors will be destroyed and all nations humbled before glorified Israel, in the religious realm Gentiles who survive the judgment come to Zion to seek Israel's God (10:21, 91:34). 1 Enoch maintained the OT

tradition of the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations to Zion. But parts of 1 Enoch, in particular the AA, speak not only of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the worship of Zion, but of the transformation of the Gentiles. As Adam was the father of the elected nation, so all in the future will be transformed to belong to his lineage when the second Adam appears. Thus in 1 Enoch, creation imagery is used not only to enforce the boundaries of Judaism in the present, it is used to expand the boundaries of the people of God in the future.

SECTION 3: THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

1. Introduction

The Book of Jubilees is an interpretative elaboration upon Gen 1 - Ex 12.¹²⁴ It claims to be a record of revelation transmitted by angelic beings to Moses on Mt. Sinai (Jub 1:27-2:1, 18:9-11, 30:17-21, 48:2).¹²⁵ The revelation concerns the course of history, determined from eternity and recorded on heavenly tablets. Although it contains some eschatology, the primary purpose of the book seems to address current issues in the community through the interpretation of the Torah. As we shall see, the issues with which many of these *halakhoth* deal concern the maintenance of the dividing line between the traditions of Judaism and Hellenistic culture.

As the fragments from Qumran have demonstrated, the original language of the composition was Hebrew. The Ethiopic text, the only extant complete version, is based on the Greek translation of the original Hebrew.¹²⁶ The writing is clearly dependent upon sections of 1 Enoch. Because it also reflects many of the issues of the Hellenistic reform, in its present form it must have a *terminus post quem* of ca. 175 BCE. Since the Damascus Document seems to cite Jubilees (CD 16:3-4),¹²⁷ it must have been composed and circulated before 100 BCE. Because Jubilees addresses so many of the specific issues which rose to the forefront in the time of Antiochus IV, the most likely date of composition seems to be somewhere in the 160's.¹²⁸

¹²⁴The genre characteristics of the Book of Jubilees are multifaceted. It certainly qualifies as an apocalypse, for revelation is mediated through Moses regarding what is written on the heavenly tablets. It contains elements of apocalyptic eschatology. Yet, it is also "rewritten" and interpreted Scripture. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 66-67. Unless noted, the ET of Jubilees is from *OTP*.

¹²⁵On the question whether Moses or an angel wrote down the revelation, see J. C. VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," *JSS* 26 (1981) 209-17. In his "rewriting" of scripture, the author utilizes traditions found from Genesis through Numbers. See K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ 2:3; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1981) 279.

¹²⁶The textual matter has been addressed exhaustively by J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 1-96.

¹²⁷VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 255-7.

¹²⁸The question whether the document is pre- or post- Maccabean remains without consensus. For an overview of the issues involved in dating Jubilees, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 67 (ca. 160 BCE). For pre-Maccabean dating, see J. Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (Vol 2; ed. E. P. Sanders; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 80, Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 78-79 and "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," 89-156 in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 102-103 (most probable dating is around 168 BCE).

2. The Future As New Creation

Jub 1:29

And the angel of the presence, who went before the camp of Israel, took the tablets of the division of years from the time of the creation of the Law and testimony according to their weeks (of years), according to the jubilees, year by year throughout the full number of jubilees, from [the day of creation until] the day of the new creation when the heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed according to the powers of heaven and according to the whole nature of earth, until the sanctuary of the LORD is created in Jerusalem upon Mount Zion. And all the lights will be renewed for healing and peace and blessing for all of the elect of Israel and in order that it might be thus from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The principal place of the Torah in creation and history is established by its priority in creation. The beginning of time is marked "from the time of the creation of the Law and testimony." Thus, the Torah has existed from the beginning of creation, a point the writer emphasizes by referring to its observation in the heavenly realm and by the patriarchs.¹²⁹

Human history has its beginning in creation and its termination at the new creation (Jub 1:29, 4:26).¹³⁰ Aspects of the new creation include: (1) The general renewal of the heavens and earth and all living beings in the cosmos; (2) The creation of a new Temple on Mt Zion (cf. Jub 4:26, 25:21);¹³¹ (3) The renewal of the heavenly lights. No specific mention of the Gentiles in the eschaton is made. Rather, the stated purpose of the new

For post-Maccabean dating, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 207-85, (a date between 161 and 140 BCE), and J. H. Charlesworth, "The Date of Jubilees and of the Temple Scroll," in *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1985) 193-194. R. Doran, "The Non-Dating of Jubilees: Jub 34-38; 23:14-32 in Narrative Context," *JSJ* 20 (1989) 1-11 argues that the writing is addressed to a general breakdown in Jewish society, and not specific instances of Hellenization (the gymnasium) or war.

¹²⁹See below on the observance of the Sabbath and the Feast of Weeks by the angels, the creation of the angels in a circumcised state, the sacrifices offered by Adam and the patriarchs, Eve's entry into Paradise and the Law of purification after childbirth.

¹³⁰See B. Z. Wacholder, "The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees: A Commentary on Jub. 49:22-50:5, CD 1:1-10, and 16:2-3," *HUCA* 56 (1985) 87-101, for an explanation of "sabbath of years" and "jubilees" in the portrayal of history in Jubilees. He also shows how the author understood Sinai to be the center of human history, with a parallelism between the preceding era, from Adam to Sinai, and the present era, from Sinai to New Creation.

¹³¹On the New Temple in Jubilees, see G. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971) 15-16, 29-31. Davenport postulates a three stage process of composition, based on what he discerns to be different strata in the eschatology of the book. The oldest is pre-Maccabean, and calls for obedience to the Torah in the context of increasing Hellenistic influence. The second strata is anti-Seleucid, and deals with the judgment of Israel due to Torah unfaithfulness. The third strata is Sanctuary-oriented, and originates from a sectarian setting (probably Qumran) which was critical of the corruption of the Temple in the era of Simon and John Hyrcanus. Davenport's three strata do identify major themes in Jubilees: fidelity to the Law in resistance of Gentile secularization, the consequences of disobedience to God's commands, and the centrality of the Sanctuary. However, could not these be complimentary themes in the mind of the same writer? Davenport's redactional analysis has come under criticism. See Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," 102 n. 62 and particularly VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," 209-17.

creation is the everlasting "healing and peace and blessing for all of the elect of Israel."

Thus, we can conclude that the idea of new creation is ethnocentrically focused in Jub 1:29.

The renewal of the heavens and earth has as its goal the creation of the eschatological

Temple in Jerusalem and the blessing and well-being of all the elect who will worship there.

However, the time preceding the new creation is marked by a period of apostasy.

Prefiguring the era of the writer, the prayer of Moses for the restoration of Israel after

apostasy (and God's response to his intercession) centres upon the creation of a holy spirit within them.

Jub 1:21, 23

21 ...*create* for them an upright spirit.

Create a pure heart and a holy spirit for them.

And do not let them be ensnared by their sin henceforth forever.

23 And I shall *create* for them a holy spirit,

and I shall purify them so that they will not turn away
from following me from that day and forever.

Thus, before the new creation, God must first create in his people a holy spirit.

3. The Transition to the Future

The eschatology of Jubilees is unique in that it does not depict a decisive Day of Judgment which initiates the new creation.¹³² Rather, it predicts an extended period of transition, in which the wicked are judged and in which the blessings upon the righteous grow. In Jub 23:16-21, the rise of a future evil generation is foretold. This generation will forsake the traditions of their parents and elders. Abandoning the covenant between God and Israel by ignoring its commands and laws, they will pollute and contaminate themselves through abominable deeds (23:16-17). Their disobedience will result in the complete reversal of that which God had purposed when He gave to Adam the responsibility to govern creation: "all of them will be destroyed together: beast, cattle, birds and all of the fish of the sea on account of the sons of Adam/man" (23:18, compare Gen 1:26-28). This evil generation will even "pollute the holy of holies with their pollution and with the corruption of their contamination" (23:21). That this is a reference to the Hellenistic reform is made

¹³²Although there will be a "day of great judgment" for the Watchers (Jub 5:10).

evident in 23:19: strife over the interpretation of the Law will be caused by this generation, "because they have forgotten the commandments and covenant and festivals and months and sabbaths and jubilees and all of the judgments."¹³³ We examined in our study of the Astronomical Book the passage in Jub 6:32-38, in which it is predicted that Israel will "forget the feasts of the covenant and walk in the feasts of the Gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance."

On the one hand, it is the abandoning of the Law, particularly the proper observance of Sabbath and cultic festivals by following the wrong cultic calendar, which results in judgment and destruction.¹³⁴ On the other hand, the centrality of the Torah is also seen in how the situation is corrected, for it will be Israel's careful study of the Law and her obedient return to following its commands that provides the catalyst to return the earth to its Paradisiacal state.

Jub 23:26-31

- 26 And in those days, children will begin to search the law,
and to search the commandments
and to return to the way of righteousness.
- 27 And the days will begin to increase and grow longer
among those sons of men, generation by generation,
and year by year,
until their days approach a thousand years,
and to a greater number of years than days...
- 29 And all of their days they will be complete
and live in peace and rejoicing
and there will be no Satan and no evil (one) who will destroy,
because all of their days will be days of blessing and healing.
- 30 And then the LORD will heal his servants,
and they will rise up and see great peace.
And they will drive out their enemies,
and the righteous ones will see and give praise,
and rejoice forever and ever with joy;
and they will see all of their judgments
and all of their curses among their enemies.
- 31 And their bones will rest in the earth,
and their spirits will increase joy,
and they will know that the LORD is an executor of judgment;
but he will show mercy to hundreds and thousands,
to all who love him.

¹³³Davenport, *The Eschatology of Jubilees*, 32-46 gives a detailed overview of the anti-Gentile polemic of 23:16-32. See also Berger, *Jubiläen*, 279 - the author's desire for reform in Judaism is for a restoration from the effects of the Hellenizing reform movement.

¹³⁴The 364 day calendar of Jubilees "was the one and only way of guaranteeing the absolute sanctity of the Sabbath." J. Baumgarten, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *VT* 37 (1987) 77.

Because the "children" began to search out the true meaning of the Torah, the progressive process of renewal begins. This continues until the earth is completely restored to its original perfection. The descriptions of the new creation in Isaiah have obviously influenced the writing at this point. Long life will be enjoyed (in contrast to Jub 23:24-25), evil powers in the spiritual and political realm will be eradicated, and peace and blessing will mark eternal existence. The process of restoration initiated by a return to the Torah culminates in the driving out of the enemies of Israel from the Land, who are cursed and receive divine judgment (23:30-31). This underscores the nationalistic element in the new creation hope of Jubilees.

Thus, the correct interpretation of the Torah was understood to be the means by which the effects of the apostate generation could be counteracted and the process of the restoration of creation begin. Repentance and covenant renewal in Jubilees centres upon the study of the Torah.¹³⁵ This not only restores Israel, it leads to the restoration of creation (cf. Jub 19:25). As Wacholder has put it, we find in Jubilees "the marriage of eschatology and Torah," an "inseparable tie between Law and a new era."¹³⁶ The application of creation stories and imagery to the central issues in the Jewish resistance to Hellenization is what we shall investigate below.

4. "Not like the Gentiles": Creation and the Identity of the People of God

Throughout Jubilees, Israel's identity is established on a two-fold basis. She is given a special identity from among the nations of the earth *by election*. But she maintains this identity *by separation*. As we shall see, creation texts and theology are used to support both election and separation.

E. Schwarz has shown that the foundational demand (*Grundsatzforderung*) of the covenant in Jubilees is the phrase, "Separate yourself from the Gentiles" (22:16).¹³⁷ His

¹³⁵J. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington: CBA, 1987) 59.

¹³⁶Wacholder, "The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees," 101.

¹³⁷E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 162; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1982) 20-21, 127-129.

thesis is that the threat of Hellenization which reached its apex in the policies of Antiochus IV led to a crisis of identity for conservative Jews. The author of Jubilees sought to re-establish this identity through separation from Gentile influences.¹³⁸

Much of the interpretation of and elaboration upon Scripture in the book of Jubilees is aimed at exhorting Jews not to follow the ways of the Gentiles. From the beginning of the writing, the author emphasizes that association with the Gentiles always results in Israel becoming unfaithful to God, particularly in the observing of rules of purity and in honoring the Sabbath and special days of the cultic calendar (1:8-11, 13, 19). Gentile practices condemned include nudity and uncircumcision (3:31, 15:33-34), the following of the lunar calendar (6:32-38, discussed already above), intermarriage (20:4, 22:20, 25:1, 27:10, 30:1-5), idolatry (20:7-9; 22:16-18), and food impurity, particularly the consuming of blood (6:12-14, 7:30, 21:6). The chief area in which the author of Jubilees sought to combat the influence of Gentile practices was in their effects on the Temple cult and priesthood. The author of Jubilees presented interpretations of the Torah which specifically attacked the syncretistic policies of the priestly leadership in Jerusalem.¹³⁹

4.1 Adam as Patriarch of the Elect Nation

The pluralism of Hellenism challenged the long cherished belief in Judaism of the special election of Israel from among the nations by the Creator. One response to this challenge was to find ways to reinforce belief in Israel's uniqueness, to portray her as the goal of creation and the centre of history.¹⁴⁰

Israel's special significance is supported by two references to the creation story in Jub 2:23-24.

¹³⁸Schwartz, *Identität*, 13-14.

¹³⁹Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 236-245. Endres argues for a pre-Maccabean date, with the charges of priestly corruption addressed specifically to the high priests Jason and Menelaus.

¹⁴⁰See Jub 16:28-32, cf Deut 32:8, Sir 17:17. Although God assigned spirits to rule the other nations, he himself rules over and protects Israel.

Jub 2:23-24

- 23 There were twenty-two chief men from Adam until Jacob,
and twenty-two kinds of works were made before the seventh day.
The former is blessed and sanctified,
and the latter is also blessed.
One was like the other with respect to sanctification and blessing.
- 24 And it was granted to the former that they [Jacob's offspring]¹⁴¹
should always be the blessed and sanctified ones
of the testimony and the first law
just as he had sanctified and blessed sabbath day on the seventh day.

In the same way that the Sabbath was blessed and sanctified by God in creation, so he blessed and sanctified Jacob and his offspring. We reviewed earlier this same analogy between the setting apart of the Sabbath from other days and the election of Israel from among the nations in Sir 33:7-13.

Adam is portrayed as the first patriarch of Israel, not only in these verses, but in the tracing of the offspring from Adam to Jacob in the genealogical record which begins in 4:7 and continues through 19:14. One of the purposes in portraying Adam as the first patriarch of Israel was to secure the rights to the creation blessing, dominion over the earth (Jub 2:13/Gen 1:26-28, Jub 5:5-8 - Noah), for the seed of Jacob.

Three times in blessing Jacob (19:23-24, 26-27, 22:13), Abraham imparts to him the blessings of Adam and Noah.

Jub 19:23-27

23)"And all of the blessings with which the LORD blessed me and my seed will be for Jacob and his seed always. 24)And in his seed my name will be blessed and the names of my fathers Shem and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. 25)And they will serve to establish heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all of the lights which are above the firmament."

26)And he called to Jacob in the sight of Rebecca, his mother, and he kissed him and blessed him, and said, 27)"Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loves, may God from above the firmament bless and may he give you all of the blessings with which he blessed Adam and Enoch and Noah and Shem..."

Besides clearly illustrating the portrayal of Adam as patriarch, this text also highlights the role Israel would play in the renewal of the heavens and the earth.

The theme of Israel's dominion comes to the forefront particularly in the final blessing of Jacob by Abraham. Significantly, this act of blessing occurs on the Feast of

¹⁴¹See OTP 2.57 textual note "z."

Weeks (Shabuot), a feast of covenant renewal which Jubilees links to God's covenant with Noah (6:17-31).¹⁴² The author claims that this feast has been celebrated in heaven from the beginning of creation, and by Noah during his lifetime as commanded by God (6:18). By connecting the blessing of Jacob with the covenant with Noah, continuity is established between the creation blessing of Noah (a repetition of the creation blessing to Adam) and Israel.¹⁴³ The other aspect of the creation blessing, dominion over the earth, is interpreted in Jubilees as the preeminence of Israel over the nations. The contrast between Israel and the nations is made explicit in a further blessing of Jacob by Abraham which invokes the blessing of Adam and Noah. The seed of Jacob are to inherit the earth: all nations will serve and pay homage to them.

Jub 22:11-16

- 11 ...May the LORD give you righteous seed,
and may he sanctify some of your sons in the midst of all the earth.
May the nations serve you,
and all the nations bow down before your seed.
- 12 Be strong before men;
and rule over all the seed of Seth,
then may your ways be righteous, and the ways of your sons,
in order to be a holy people.
- 13 May the Most High God give you all the blessings
(with) which he blessed me,
and (with) which he blessed Noah and Adam;
may they rest upon the holy head of your seed throughout each
generation and forever.
- 14 ...May he strengthen you and bless you,
and may you inherit all of the earth.
- 16 ...Separate yourself from the Gentiles,
and do not eat with them,
and do not perform deeds like theirs.
And do not become associates of theirs.
Because their deeds are defiled,
and all of their ways are contaminated, and despicable, and
abominable.

The interpretation of the creation blessing as Israel's dominion over the earth is explicit in this final blessing of Jacob. However, the promise of dominion is accompanied by a covenantal stipulation: "Separate yourselves from the Gentiles" (22:16).¹⁴⁴ As Endres

¹⁴²M. Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Paris: Minard, 1960) 148-149.

¹⁴³Jacob is the central figure in the covenant theology of Jubilees (for example Jub 19:17-18). See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 85-119, 228-231, Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses*, 72-73.

¹⁴⁴Schwartz, *Identität*, 86, considers this speech by Abraham on the specifics of separation from the Gentiles to be the best example of the covenantal behavior demanded in Jubilees.

comments, "Abraham's commands are summarized in a single apodictic statement."¹⁴⁵ The "foundational demand" of the covenant in Jubilees, separation from the Gentiles, is established by the author in the creation blessings of Adam and Noah. As we shall see, creation tradition is used to establish the idea of Israel's separation from the nations in many other places in Jubilees.

Abraham instructs Jacob in Jub 22:16 to completely avoid being identified with Gentiles or their ways. First on the list of things banned is table fellowship with Gentiles, a reminder that the issue of food laws was at the forefront in the dealings of Antiochus IV with the Jews (1Macc 1:47f, 62f, 2Macc 6:18-21, 7:1). The text goes on to condemn Gentile idolatry (22:17-19, 22) and interracial marriage with Gentiles (22:20).¹⁴⁶ Thus Israel's special role in creation, as the bearers of God's creation blessings given to Adam and Noah, is used to introduce the commands to avoid the enticements of Hellenism. Creation theology functions in Jubilees to establish Israel's identity as the people of God, an identity maintained through separation from the Gentiles.

4.2 Creation, Sabbath and Election

The importance placed upon the Sabbath in Jubilees has often been observed.¹⁴⁷ Jubilees contains many laws which strictly regulated activity on the Sabbath (2:25-33, 50:6-13).¹⁴⁸ It prescribed the death penalty for breaking the Sabbath command (2:25-27, 50:13, cf. Ex 31:15).

¹⁴⁵Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 44, 229.

¹⁴⁶Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 120-154 has shown that the retelling and interpretation of the rape of Dinah (Jub 30) is directed specifically at the dangers and consequences (all the men of Shechem are killed) of intermarriage with Gentiles. It also understands as covenantal righteousness the violent revenge of Levi and Simeon, thus highlighting the priestly role as agents of purity. See also Schwartz, *Identität*, 108-11 for an overview of the prohibition of mixed marriages. However, he tries to include specific reference to mixed marriages in Samaria as well as in Judea, a thesis which seems to need further support. See also Berger, *Jubildēn*, 280-281, who notes that the preservation of the family was a primary concern in forbidding interracial marriages.

¹⁴⁷See Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses*, 140-143, S. Kubo, "The Sabbath in the Intertestamental Period," 57-69 in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (ed. K. Strand; Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982) and C. Rowlands, "A Summary of Sabbath Observance in Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era," in *From Sabbath to Lord's Day* (ed. D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982) 45-46.

¹⁴⁸See Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses*, 116 and L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 78, 89, 103. Sexual intercourse was forbidden on the Sabbath in Jub 50:8. War also was forbidden, Jub 50:12. The only "work" allowed was the offering of sacrifices.

The establishing of the Sabbath is the highlight in the account of the creation, and this divine decree draws together creation, Sabbath and Israel's election.¹⁴⁹

Jub 2:19

19 And he {God} said to us {the angels}
 "Behold I shall separate for myself a people from among all the nations. And they will also keep the sabbath. And I will sanctify them for myself and I will bless them. [Just as I have sanctified and shall sanctify the sabbath day for myself thus shall I bless them.]¹⁵⁰
 And they will be my people and I will be their God.

Jub 2:21

21 And thus he {God} created therein a sign by which they {Israel} might keep the sabbath with us {the angels} on the seventh day, to eat and drink and bless the one who created all things just as he blessed and sanctified for himself a people who appeared from all the nations so that they might keep the sabbath together with us.

Jub 2:31-32

31 The Creator of all blessed it, but he did not sanctify any people or nations to keep the sabbath thereon with the sole exception of Israel. He granted to them alone that they might eat and drink and keep the sabbath thereon upon the earth.
 32 And the Creator of all, who created this day for a blessing and sanctification and glory, blessed it more than all days.

Sabbath observance is not merely a command for Israel, it is a law observed in the angelic realm (2:17-18, 30). God rested on the seventh day following the creation and continues to rest every Sabbath. Jubilees takes the creation tradition of Gen 2:1 which linked creation and Sabbath and expanded it by stating its on-going observance by the angels and by God himself. Sabbath observance is encouraged by portraying the practice in Israel as uniting her with God and his angels.

As the texts cited above clearly illustrate, Israel's election was directly linked to the Sabbath. It was a sign of her election (2:21), for she alone was chosen from among the nations to celebrate the Sabbath with the angels and God (2:20, 31).¹⁵¹ Note the language of covenant formula, "And they will be my people and I will be their God," attached to Israel's observance of the Sabbath in 2:19. Thus Sabbath separates Israel from the

¹⁴⁹Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 64

¹⁵⁰This line in the Ethiopic probably was not in the text from Qumran Cave 4. Although the text from Qumran is missing at this point, there does not seem to be enough space to allow for this sentence if the Hebrew is reconstructed. See J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *JBL* 110 (1991) 269.

¹⁵¹See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: A. C. Black, 1902) 17.

nations¹⁵² and sanctifies her unto God, in the same way that God separated the seventh day and sanctified it. The author interprets Gen 2:1 so that it becomes an argument for Israel's election, and thus to encourage the continued observance of the Sabbath command in spite of social opposition. The idea of Israel's election and separation in Jubilees is rooted in creation and Sabbath.

4.3 Zion as Sacred Space

Two passages in Jubilees describe Zion in terms of sacred space - the place where God dwells, where God and man can meet, and where the blessings of God's presence can be enjoyed.

Jub 4:26.

26) For the Lord has four (sacred) places upon the earth: the garden of Eden and the mountain of the East and this mountain which you are upon today, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth. On account of this the earth will be sanctified from all sin and from pollution throughout eternal generations.

Jub 8:19

19) And he {Noah} knew that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the LORD. And Mount Sinai (was) in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion (was) in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other."

Jub 4:26 includes Zion among the four sacred sites on earth.¹⁵³ But beyond that, the text says that Zion itself will be "sanctified in the new creation" with the result that all the earth will be sanctified. Thus Zion is the source of the eschatological renewal of creation, functioning as a "cosmic mountain."¹⁵⁴

Jub 8:19 is part of a section describing the division of the earth after the Flood. In assigning an inheritance to Shem, patriarch of Israel, Noah allots to him all three areas created as holy places: Eden, Sinai, and Zion (the centre of the world). This reinforces the special identity of Israel as the people among whom God dwells.

¹⁵²See Schwartz, *Identität*, 20-21.

¹⁵³For the geography of Jubilees, see P. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 33 (1982) 197-213. His map clearly illustrates the literal depiction of Mt Zion as the "center of the earth." See also Jub 22:11

¹⁵⁴For Zion as the center of the earth in Jubilees, see Davenport, *The Eschatology of Jubilees*, 30 n. 3, 75. Jub 18:13 identifies the mountain where Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac as Zion.

The OT traditions of Zion as cosmic mountain, as world capital, and as the source of life for the creation is evident in Jubilees. Jerusalem is not simply another political capital - it is sacred space. Therefore, all effort must be made to preserve her sanctity and the sanctity of her people.

The issue of purity, particularly as it relates to the Temple, is seen in the *halakhah* found in Jub 3:8-14. There, the creation narrative of Gen 2 is interpreted specifically with reference to the laws of purification after childbirth.¹⁵⁵

Jub 3:8-14:

8)In the first week Adam was created and also the rib, his wife. And in the second week he showed her to him. And therefore the commandment was given to observe seven days for a male, but for a female twice seven days in their impurity.

9)And after forty days were completed for Adam in the land where he was created, we brought him into the garden of Eden so that he might work it and guard it. And on the eighth day his wife was also brought in. And after this she entered the garden of Eden. 10)And therefore the command was written in the heavenly tablets for one who bears. "If she bears a male, she shall remain seven days in her impurity like the first seven days. And thirty-three days she shall remain in the blood of her purity. And she shall not touch anything holy. And she shall not enter the sanctuary until she has completed these days which are in accord with (the rule for) a male (child). 11)And that which is in accord with (the rule for) a female is two weeks - like the two first weeks - in her impurity. And sixty-six days she shall remain in the blood of her purity. And their total will be eighty days."

12)And when she finished those eighty days, we brought her into the garden of Eden because it is more holy than any land. And every tree which is planted in it is holy. 13)Therefore the ordinances of these days were ordained for anyone who bears a male or female that she might not touch anything holy and she might not enter the sanctuary until these days are completed for a male or female. 14)This is the law and testimony which is written for Israel so that they might keep it always."

The laws of uncleanness after childbirth, illustrated by Adam's treatment of Eve, continue in force eternally for Israel. Eden is "more holy than any land." We saw above in Jub 8:19 that the garden of Eden was considered "the holy of holies and the dwelling of the LORD." Because of the analogy between Eden and the Temple, the author of Jubilees is able to interpret and elaborate on the creation narrative of Gen 2 to address the issue of Temple purity: "she shall not enter the sanctuary" (3:13).

¹⁵⁵For a discussion on these laws, see J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) 55.

4.4 The Creation Story and Hellenistic Culture

Another example of interpretive *halakhah* is Jub 3:26-31. It expands upon the description in Gen 3 of Adam and Eve after their disobedience.

Jub 3:26-31.

26)And he made for them garments of skin and he dressed them and sent them from the garden of Eden. 27)And on that day when Adam went out from the garden of Eden, he offered a sweet-smelling sacrifice - frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and spices - in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day he covered his shame. 28)On that day the mouth of all the beasts and cattle and birds and whatever walked or moved was stopped from speaking because all of them used to speak with one another with one speech and one language. 29)And he sent from the garden of Eden all of the flesh which was in the garden of Eden and all of the flesh was scattered, each one according to its kind and each one according to its family, into the place which was created for them.

30)But from all the beasts and all the cattle he granted to Adam alone that he might cover his shame. 31)Therefore it is commanded in the heavenly tablets to all who will know the judgment of the Law that they should cover their shame and they should not be uncovered as the Gentiles are uncovered."

This portrayal of Adam as offering a sacrifice is among the many instances in Jubilees where the patriarchal figures of Israel are depicted as fulfilling the commands of the Torah.¹⁵⁶ The writer of Jubilees explains an aspect of cultic sacrifice by expansion upon the Genesis narrative, using the figure of Adam to reinforce the validity of a practice which perhaps had come into question.

However, the central issue of the text is that the men of Israel "should cover their shame and they should not be uncovered as the Gentiles are uncovered." The nudity common in the Gentile world was extremely offensive to pious Jews. It is probable that behind this text is the issue of the gymnasium (1Macc 1:14-15). Thus, the creation story of Gen 3 is interpreted so it specifically encourages a separation from Gentile practices.

¹⁵⁶Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses*, 101-19. As Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 227 notes, the author of Jubilees rejects all ideas of a developmental progression of Israel's faith. What should be observed in the present is that which was observed since the beginning of creation.

4.5 Circumcision and Sanctification

Related to the above issue of nudity is circumcision. As the Sabbath command was linked to the way God created the heavenly realm to function, so the author of Jubilees links circumcision to the creation of the angels.

Jub 15:26-27

26)And anyone who is born whose own flesh is not circumcised on the eighth day is not from the sons of the covenant which the LORD made for Abraham since (he is) from the children of destruction. And there is therefore no sign upon him so that he might belong to the LORD because (he is destined) to be destroyed and annihilated from the earth and to be uprooted from the earth because he has broken the covenant of the LORD our God. 27)Because the nature of all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of sanctification was thus from the day of their creation. And in the presence of the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification he sanctified Israel so that they might be with him and with his holy angels."

This text states that the angels were created circumcised.¹⁵⁷ Therefore the sign of Israel's covenant links them with the angels, as does their observation of the Sabbath. The chief distinctives of Israel are not only divine commands. Rather, they reflect the manner in which God created the angelic world, and are signs of Israel's unique participation in this realm. Note how absolutely circumcision functions as a boundary marker: those who are not circumcised are "children of destruction," excluded from the sons of Abraham's covenant (15:26). The contrast to Paul's gospel in Gal 3 and Rom 4 is arresting.

The text goes on to predict a day in which Israel will not obey the command to circumcise their sons "because they have made themselves like to Gentiles." Those who are not circumcised have committed an eternal sin and have no hope of forgiveness (15:34). Circumcision was not mutilation, a tradition to be ashamed of or even attempt to reverse (1Macc). Rather, it was a sign of Israel's special election (see 15:32) into fellowship with the angels, who were created circumcised.

¹⁵⁷Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 111. Later Rabbinic writings made the same claim, and also claimed that many of the patriarchs were born circumcised.

5. Conclusions: Jubilees

Jubilees presents us with one of the clearest examples of the use of creation imagery to support the claims for Israel's special identity in the world.

5.1 The New Creation

Jubilees looks forward to an eschatological new creation (1:29, 4:26) in which the earth is renewed, the heavenly lights are healed, long life is restored to humanity and a new temple is created on Zion. This is a time of "healing and peace and blessing for all the elect of Israel." The new creation includes the defeat of hostile Spiritual forces (23:29) and political liberation from oppression (23:30-31).

5.2 The Transition to the Future

Israel is to play a role in the process of renewal (4:26, 19:25, 23:26-31). In Jubilees, three things are associated with the new creation: the creation of a holy spirit within the righteous (1:21-13), the study of the Torah (23:26-31), and Zion as a source of healing after the building of the eschatological Temple (4:26, 25:21). Central to all three is the idea of sanctification. A return to the study of the Torah and an adherence to its Laws is the inception of the process of eschatological change. The Torah, the first of God's creations (1:29) is what will initiate the transition to the New Creation. In this way, the Torah and the New Creation are intimately linked together.

5.3 Identity through Separation

Creation themes and the interpretation of the creation narratives reinforce the central covenantal demand of Jubilees: Identity through Separation. In continuity with the OT, Zion is depicted as sacred space, the cosmic mountain from which all life emanates. The writer of Jubilees, utilizing the overlap between Paradise and Zion, is able to interpret the Paradise story in such a way to insure the sanctity of the Temple. The capital of Israel is the capital of

the world and the place where God dwells. Therefore purity of her priests and inhabitants is of paramount importance.

In Jubilees, the creation blessing of dominion given to Adam and Noah become the heritage of Israel. Adam is portrayed as the first patriarch of Israel. Yet Israel's special destiny not only is given through election, it is maintained through separation. In fact, separation from the Gentiles becomes the fundamental covenantal stipulation in Jubilees. And as we have seen, this stipulation is rooted in creation tradition.

The specific Jewish practices which marked them off from the rest of the Hellenistic world and which became central issues during the time of Antiochus IV (such as the cultic calendar and the issue of nakedness) are defended through creation images and interpretation of the creation stories. Israel's election from among the nations is compared to and tied to God's separation of the Sabbath from other days (2:19-32). The feasts which she is commanded to celebrate have been observed by the angels since the beginning of their creation. In fact, the angels were created circumcised (15:26-7). Israel's circumcision, her Sabbath observance and her feasts are all signs of her fellowship with the divine realm. The Torah which orders life in Israel is the Torah which has governed the heavenly realm from the beginning of creation.

Those very aspects of Torah faithfulness which bring Israel into contrast and conflict with the Gentiles are signs of her special identity as God's elect among all creation. The author of Jubilees interprets the creation stories and uses its images to remind the faithful in Israel of this fact.

SECTION 4: DANIEL 7

1. Introduction: Covenantal Faithfulness in a Hellenistic World

Determining the structure of the book of Daniel presents widely varying options for the interpreter. Many have divided the book along the lines of court-tales (1-6) and dreams and vision (7-12). However, the language division, 2:4b-7:28 in Aramaic, 1:1-2:4a and 8:1-12:13 in Hebrew, seems to indicate a different type of structure. The arguments for viewing chapters 2 through 7 as a literary whole are furthered by the chiastic structures of the stories. 2 and 7 are dream-visions of four great world kingdoms beginning with Babylon and promise the vindication and glorification of Israel (as the kingdom of God);¹⁵⁸ 4 and 6 are stories about the deliverance by God of those willing to face martyrdom instead of submitting to a royal idolatry; and 5 and 6 show the contrasting options for Gentile kings who choose either to repent or rebel against the God of Israel. The appropriateness of these stories for Jews dealing with the policies of Antiochus IV is clear.¹⁵⁹

The rest of Daniel seems to have been developed upon this initial block of material. Extending upon the themes of 2-7, the other chapters also address key issues in the time leading up to the Maccabean era. Chapter 1 deals with the reward of being faithful to Jewish food laws in spite of Gentile opposition. Chapter 8 deals with the restoration of the Temple after its desecration. Chapters 9 through 12 continue to develop the themes of political and spiritual restoration. When the internal evidence is considered, the dating of the composition as it now stand seems to be within a few years following the events of 167 BCE.

¹⁵⁸See J. J. Collins, "The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation* (ed. W. Willis; Peabody: Hedrickson, 1987) 81-84.

¹⁵⁹This is true whether the court tales are a set of Aramaic tales composed earlier which have been rewritten to suit the events of the Maccabean era, or if they were composed specifically in response to those events. Due to the limits of this study, we will not be able to address the various theories regarding the unity of Daniel or how the text possibly evolved through a series of redactors. For an overview of the various theories, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 1-26, and *Daniel* (Hermenia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 1-38, J. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Waco: Word, 1989) 324-326.

The encouragement to remain faithful to the Torah in the midst of a Gentile world is central to Daniel 1-6.¹⁶⁰ In the opening court tale, Daniel refused to "defile himself" (1:8) with Gentile foods.¹⁶¹ His obedience to Torah was vindicated by God, and he and the other Israelite youths were promoted to positions of high responsibility. As 1Macc 1:62-63 and 2Macc 7 show, the issue of food laws was a focal point in the policies of Antiochus IV against the Jews. Following the first dream vision, the next story deals with the refusal of the three Jewish youth to break the Law with regards to idolatry. Although sentenced to death, they are delivered and vindicated. Their faithfulness to the Torah in refusing to take part in the idolatrous royal cult is clearly an encouragement to similar fidelity for Jews facing similar circumstances. The story of Daniel's obedience in Dan 6 also focuses on his faithfulness to Torah. His enemies determined, "We shall not find any ground for complaint against this Daniel unless we find it in connection with the Law of his God" (6:5). Although prayer to all others except the king was forbidden (again a reflection of the royal cult), Daniel continued to worship as had been his custom. Although sentenced to death, he was delivered by God. Thus, the story admonishes that when political law conflicts with God's Law, one must be faithful to Torah no matter the consequences. Antiochus IV is one who will utter "great things" against God and man (7:8, 7:25) and "shall think to change the times and the Law." This last phrase probably describes the action of Antiochus in 167 BCE, when he changed the cultic calendar, abolished festivals and sacrifices and desecrated the Temple.¹⁶² Thus in regards to the Law, the book shows a developed thematic unity.

The community behind the book of Daniel saw a clear division within Judaism between those who would be faithful to the Torah and those who would succumb to the

¹⁶⁰Many scholars have pointed to the seeming disjunction between the vindication in the present life in Dan 1-6 and the vindication which awaits the eschaton in Dan 7-12. Thus, many have posited an earlier date for Dan 1-6, to a time in which there was still hope for a co-existence between Jewish practice and Gentile rulership. See W. L. Humphreys, "A Life-style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973) 211-23. The text as it stands ties in closely the themes of the court tales to the issue of Antiochus' policies in the dream-visions.

¹⁶¹Cf Tobit 1:10-11, Jub 22:16. The Greek addition to Esther 4 (13:28) mentions her avoidance of "the wine of oblation."

¹⁶²See M. Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979) 47. This places the writing of Daniel 7 after 167 and much closer in time to Dan 8, a point disputed by scholars. But contrast the viewpoint of Goldingay, *Daniel*, 180-181 that the reference to time and law refers to Antiochus attempt to usurp the course of history.

pressures of the Hellenistic king. Among those in the wider community, Antiochus IV will "seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant" (11:32). But the wise teachers,¹⁶³ "the people who know their God" will "stand firm and take action" (11:32). The knowledge of these faithful consists in part of revelation into the unseen spiritual reality which controls the events experienced on the human plane. This type of ethical dualism between the righteous and apostate within Israel is evident in numerous Jewish writings of this period. The focus of our study will be the vision of Daniel 7, which utilizes creation imagery to illustrate the eventual glorification of Israel and to encourage faithfulness to the covenant in the midst of persecution (7:21, 25).

2. Introduction to Daniel 7

Much effort has been expended to determine the identity of the "son of man" and the "saints of the Most High" in Daniel 7.¹⁶⁴ The interpretation which seems to have gained the most recent support is to understand the "son of man" as the angelic representative of Israel and the "holy ones of the Most High" as the angelic hosts, the heavenly counterpart to the earthly "people of the holy ones of the Most High."¹⁶⁵ The strength of this argument is the recognition of the frequent dualism between the angelic and human realms, as well as the

¹⁶³Many have proposed that the wise teachers are the Hasidim. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.175-80, O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 22-25, L. Hartman and A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB 23; Garden City: Doubleday, 1978) 42-45. But note the caution against too quickly accepting this identification in Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 89-90.

¹⁶⁴See the overviews and extensive bibliographies in Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, and *Daniel*, 304-310, 313-18, A. J. B. Higgins, *The Son of Man in the Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980) 3-28 (extensive interaction with F. Borsch and C. Colpe, overview of philological questions), C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986) 9-33 (on the philological investigations), and Goldingay, *Daniel*, 137-142, 169-172. See also D. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 9-26.

¹⁶⁵The identification of the "one like a son of man" as Michael goes at least as far back as N. Schmidt, "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 19 (1900) 22-8. For the argument that the "holy ones" are references to angels, see M. Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 215-28, an ET of Noth's article which originally appeared in 1955. See also L. Dequeker, "'The Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel," *OTS* 18 (1973) 108-187. The argument that the "one like a son of man" is Michael and that the "holy ones" are angels has been forcefully restated by Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 93 (1974) 50-66 and *Apocalyptic Vision*, 123-147 and Day, *God's Conflict*, 167-177. Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 79-92, utilizing the work of Noth and Emerton to argue that the Ancient of Days, one like a son of man, and the saints (reading "hosts" instead of "people of" in 7:27 with Noth) are all from the divine realm postulates a "revolutionist" social outlook by the author of Dan 7, one in which salvation comes exclusively through action in the divine realm, with humans only receiving it, not participating in it.

inter-relationship between the two. Many scholars continue to argue that the "holy ones of the Most High" and the "people of the holy ones of the Most High" are references to Israel.¹⁶⁶ The long standing messianic interpretation of "son of man" still continues to be restated with new or nuanced arguments,¹⁶⁷ but the work of earlier scholars to identify the "son of man" with *Urmensch*¹⁶⁸ or with various OT figures has been consistently rejected by current scholars.¹⁶⁹ The most straightforward reading of the text still commends itself for its simplicity: the "one like a son of man," "the saints of the Most High," and the "people of the saints of the Most High" are all references to faithful Israel.¹⁷⁰

Our interest in this study is not to determine the identity of the "son of man" nor the identity of "the saints of the Most High." With so many specialists in the area with extensively developed argument for opposing positions, it is impossible given the limited focus of our investigation to begin to interact with any detail with their work, let alone attempt to "solve" this issue in a short space. Our concern is how creation imagery is used to support Israel's national self-identity and hopes, and this can be done without specifically identifying the "son of man" and "the saints of the Most High" because of the following:

- 1) Whoever the manlike figure is,
what happens to him happens to the saints of the Most High.
- 2) Whoever the saints of the Most High are,
what happens to them happens to the people of the saints of the Most High.

¹⁶⁶See C. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and their Kingdom," *OTS* 14 (1965) 305-29, a response to Noth. See also the more recent studies on this position by G. F. Hasel, "The Identity of the 'Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Bib* 56 (1975) 173-92, V. S. Pothyress, "The Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel VII," *VT* 26 (1976) 208-13, Casey, *Son of Man*, 41-45, G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 50-54.

The phrase "the people of the Saints of the Most High" is epexegetical in this case, "the people which consists of the saints of the Most High." - see Casey, *Son of Man*, 41.

¹⁶⁷Recent treatments include A. Ferch, *The Son of Man in Daniel 7* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983), Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," 54-58; Caragounis, *The Son of Man*.

¹⁶⁸The major studies proposing a *Urmensch* background include C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and the Son of Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), F. H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (London: SCM, 1967) and A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (ET; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1970).

¹⁶⁹See Dunn, *Christology*, 72-73.

¹⁷⁰Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 85-102, Casey, *Son of Man*, 11-48, Dunn, *Christology*, 68-75.

The text makes this correspondence clear:

- 13 I saw in the night visions, and behold,
with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man,
and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him.
- 14 And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom,
that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him;
his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away,
and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.
- 18 But the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom,
and possess the kingdom for ever, for ever and ever.
- 27 And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the
kingdoms under the whole heaven
shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High;
their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom,
and all dominions shall serve and obey them.

The three descriptions share these similarities: (1)the kingdom is given/received; (2)the granting of dominion is everlasting; (3)the dominion is over all other nations (specific only in regards to the "son of man" and "people of the saints").¹⁷¹ Almost all scholars agree that the "people of the saints of the Most High" is a reference to Israel.¹⁷² The manlike figure is either a symbol of Israel or a representative of Israel. And the saints of the Most High are either Israel or their angelic counterparts. Thus, our line of questioning regarding whether creation imagery is utilized in a nationalistic or ethnocentric manner is not dependent upon us reaching a final conclusion in regards to the specific identity of the "one like a son of man" and the "saints of the Most High." We will investigate the way the author of Dan 7 describes how the "people of the saints of the Most High" will inherit dominion over all the earth forever.

¹⁷¹Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 209 writes, "While Daniel doesn't exclude a national restoration on the earthly level, he expresses no interest in it. His interest lies rather in the *maskîlîm*. Their salvation consists of "shining like the stars," of being transformed to an angelic state." Collins' statement is completely dependent upon his interpretation of "son of man" and "holy ones" as angelic beings. But even by his own arguments, if Daniel consistently presents a spatial dualism between the angelic realm and the human realm, why does this interest suddenly cease at the eschaton? And why would the author develop the sequence of 5 kingdoms in Dan 2 and 7 only to lose interest in the earthly level with the final kingdom, the kingdom of God? It seems more in keeping with the book of Daniel as a whole to understand that the everlasting kingdom of God is a reign experienced in heaven and on earth.

¹⁷²One exception is Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," 223-34. However, the reading of the Qumran texts on which Noth bases his argument is questionable. See Goldingay, *Daniel*, 182, Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and their Kingdom," 321, Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 142-143.

3. The *Chaoskampf* Metaphor and Zion Tradition

Many scholars have shown the similarity between Dan 7 and *Chaoskampf* myths in other writings of the ANE.¹⁷³ Dan 7 opens with the picture of the churning of the great sea, out of which emerges a series of threatening monsters. This depiction of "history as chaos"¹⁷⁴ is followed by the intervention of the Ancient of Days, who brings order from the midst of chaos.¹⁷⁵ A key for many scholars who link Dan 7 with other creation cycles is the fact that the son of man comes "with the clouds of heaven,"¹⁷⁶ thus associating him with storm deities of the ANE. In the Ugaritic Baal epic, Baal, the "rider of the clouds," defeats Yamm, the sea. Proclaiming himself king, upon his request he is given permission by El, the one "ancient in years," to build a palace for himself in the north (Zaphon). In our study of Zion tradition, we examined the affinity between Zaphon and Zion. In the Song of Ullikumis, a Hittite creation cycle, the storm god delivers the assembly of the gods from the threats of the powerful sea god.¹⁷⁷ In the *Enuma Elish*, Marduk, the storm God, is built a palace (Babylon) and granted preeminence among the gods after he defeats Tiamat, the sea monster who is the representative of chaos. Thus the basic pattern of threat to the divine world by the waters of chaos, the defeat of the chaos monster by a storm deity, and the enthronement of this storm deity as ruler of all, gives us insight into the figures and images of Dan 7.

Yet problems remain, because while there are similarities, there is not a full correspondence between these creation myths and Dan 7. In Dan 7, there is no "combat"

¹⁷³For an overview of the Canaanite myths, see Collins, *Daniel*, 280-293, Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 112-144 and the bibliography cited above in the chapter on Zion. For the relationship of Dan 7 to ANE creation cycles, see J. A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery," *JTS* 9 (1958) 225-42 and Day, *God's Conflict*, 151-177. For the relationship of Dan 7 to the Baal cycle, see J. J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Genre and Mythic Allusions in Daniel," *JSOT* 21 (1981) 83-100. G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," 44-48 gives a concise overview of the various creation myths.

¹⁷⁴The phrase used to describe Dan 7 by S. Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* (Studies in the Humanities 6; Chico: Scholars, 1985) 74.

¹⁷⁵That the throne-theophany takes place on earth, see Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," 48-49 and Goldingay, *Daniel*, 167.

¹⁷⁶His coming "with the clouds of heaven" is in apposition to the beasts arising from the sea of chaos. Although R. B. Y. Scott, "Behold He Cometh with Clouds," *NTS* 5 (1959) 127-132 has argued that the clouds only introduce the scene and are not directly connected to the manlike figure, most scholars see the clouds as being an essential aspect of the image of the "one like a son of man."

¹⁷⁷See Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," 46.

between the one who comes on the clouds and the monsters of chaos.¹⁷⁸ Rather, the representative of chaos is slain and destroyed as a result of the judgment of the court of the Ancient of Days. The one like a son of man receives the kingdom as a gift, not a reward. It is in light of this issue that the Zion creation tradition possibly sheds light on Dan 7.¹⁷⁹

The victory of the Creator over chaos (in this case the issuing of divine judgment) can be followed by him enthroning a human king as his earthly representative. This idea is frequent in the *Chaoskampf* stories of the ANE. We examined in our study of Zion tradition the application of this idea to the Davidic king in Ps 89. As we saw, Ps 89 begins by praising Yahweh for his power over the chaos waters and his cosmic rule.

Ps 89:9-11

Thou dost rule the raging of the sea;
When its waves rise, thou stillest them.
Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass,
Thou didst scatter thy enemies with thy mighty arm.
The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine;
the world and all that is in it,
Thou hast founded them.

It goes on to speak of the delegation of this power and rule to David.

Ps 89:20-21, 25

I have found David My servant;
with My holy oil I have anointed him,
With whom My hand will be established;
My arm also will strengthen him...
I shall also set his hand on the sea,
And his right hand on the rivers.

Thus, if read against the background of Zion creation tradition, it is possible for the manlike figure to be interpreted as a Davidic king, enthroned to rule as the representative of the

¹⁷⁸In Dan 7 as in the rest of the OT, there is no mythological combat between Chaos and Yahweh. The *Chaoskampf* pattern is utilized, but Yahweh triumphs by his decree or wisdom or power.

Emerton, "The Origin," 232 argued that v 11 is an interpolation, and that in the original story the "manlike" figure carries out the command of the Ancient of Days, slays the beast, and receives the kingdom as a reward, thus drawing Dan 7 closer in line to other creation cycles.

¹⁷⁹It always has been a difficulty in comprehending how the author of Dan 7 came to use ancient Ugaritic mythic patterns, particularly the Baal image. P. Mosca, "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link," *Bib* 67 (1986) 496-502, responding to this difficulty, shows how the majority of images and motifs in Dan 7, while having parallels in other ANE literature, have their antecedents in the OT itself. Thus, if we discern ancient mythic patterns, the most promising area on which to base interpretation of Dan 7 is manifestations of these patterns in the OT itself. Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 102-104, shows that certain Hellenistic writings show interest in the stories, motifs and patterns of ancient traditions such as the Ugaritic myths. He argues that such traditions could have been part of the (extra-biblical) theology of the royal cult. Day, *God's Conflict*, 165 also argues for a transmission through the royal cult.

Creator who has subdued the threat of chaos.¹⁸⁰ Thus, a possible reading of Dan 7 could be as follows:

Chaos rages against Zion. In a theophany of judgment on Zion, Yahweh's decree brings an end to the power of chaos. He then installs on Zion a human representative of his deity, thus forever granting to his people the rule over all the nations.

The intimate link of kingship with the Deity (in other ANE cultures, the king as deity) could well explain why the son of man comes "with the clouds of heaven."

At this point, this is only another plausible reading of the text. Yet, no matter if the "one like a son of man" is the angelic ruler of Israel, the Messianic Davidic king, or most simply, Israel herself, the use of the *Chaoskampf* pattern assures Israel of two things: 1) the threat of chaos will be destroyed and 2) Israel shall be given the rule over all nations forever. Creation tradition is used to assure Israel that all present oppression will cease and she will soon again rule over the nations as the people of God. Thus creation tradition becomes eschatologized into nationalistic hope.

4. The Creation Blessing and Israel as the Heirs of Adam

The *Chaoskampf* creation pattern seems to give us insight into the most basic and general contrast of Dan 7: the forces of chaos, the sea and the beasts which arise out of it, and the authority of the Ancient of Days. It seems that another part of Israel's creation traditions shed light on other aspects of the dream-vision. Many scholars have noticed that the relationships between those who are "like" beasts, and the one who is "like" a human are reminiscent of the relationship of humans to animals in Gen 1-2 and Ps 8.¹⁸¹ The first man and woman are given dominion over the animals in Gen 1:26-28. We discussed earlier

¹⁸⁰Mosca, 508-515 also draws attention to the possibility of Ps 89 being a bridge between ancient traditions and Daniel 7. His detailed study shows the plausibility of there being an interrelationship between Ps 89 and Dan 7. However, Mosca limits his interpretation to Davidic kingship in Israel.

For the possible association of the "one like a son of man" with sacral kingship, see I. Engnell, "The Son of Man," in *Critical Essays on the OT* (London: SPCK, 1969) 237-241.

¹⁸¹See for example Casey, *Son of Man*, 25, P. A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983) 111-114, Mosca, "Ugarit and Daniel," 515-517, Goldingay, *Daniel*, 149-150. A. LaCocque, *Daniel in His Time* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1988) uses the occurrence of the "son of man" motif in Dan 7 to describe what he sees as a wider shift from the Davidic (*Heilsgeschichte*, politically and nationally oriented) to Adamic (*Urgeschichte*, cosmically and universally oriented) in Israel's messianism.

how this delegation of the Creator's authority to humanity was a reflection of being created "in the image of God." Furthermore, Adam in Gen 2 is given responsibility to govern the Garden of Eden. As part of his function as king, he names all the animals, thus indicating their subjection to him. Ps 8 democratizes this authority to apply to all humans ("man" and the "son of man"). Although only a humble creature when compared with God, human beings have been crowned with glory and honor, and given dominion over all living creatures on the earth.¹⁸²

The human-animal contrast is stated in a negative context in Ps 80. This psalm is a lament which appeals to God to establish a "man," a "son of man" to establish order over a creation sliding back into chaos. Israel is being despoiled by Gentile nations. She is depicted as a vine planted by God being ravaged by wild boars and destroyed by "all that move in the field" (80:8-13). The prayer for salvation pleads with God:

Ps 80:17
But let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand,
The son of man whom thou hast made strong for thyself!

Thus, we see the human-beast contrast can be used to depict salvation and deliverance coming to the people of God.¹⁸³

It is not only in the general sense of Gen 1-2 or Ps 8 that the human-beast contrast is employed in Dan 7. This OT creation imagery is utilized in the nationalistic sense of Ps 80, where the beasts represent the Gentile nations and the man/son of man represents Israel (or her king).¹⁸⁴ In Dan 7 the beasts are primeval chaos incarnate in the Gentile kings

¹⁸²M. Dahood, *Psalms I* (AB 16; Garden City: Doubleday, 1966) 51-52 identifies the enemies of God in Ps 8:2 (3) as the defeated primeval waters of chaos. This reading would allow an even closer link between the motifs of Ps 8 and Dan 7.

Another possible parallel between Ps 8 and Dan 7 is between man "little less than divine (or the angels)" and the son of man "coming with the clouds of heaven." See Mosca, 517. However, as a symbol, the clouds of heaven indicate the presence of the divine, not the "little less than divine" (Ex 19:16, Deut 33:26, Ps 68:5, 104:3).

¹⁸³See Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters*, 113 for more specifics in the relationship between Dan 7 and Ps 89. His study is to be recommended in general for its sensitivity to the use of metaphor in Dan 7-8. The interpretation of the images in the vision is most commonly a drawing of an equation between that image and the person or persons it symbolizes. *This is done by the author of Dan 7 himself where he interprets the vision.* However, Porter does draw our attention to the overall evocative power of the metaphors in these chapters. The symbolic language of Dan 7 is also dealt with by S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition* (HSM 30; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) 200-215.

¹⁸⁴It is possible that in the original text the reference in 15a was to the king. See A. Gelston, "A Sidelight on the 'Son of Man,'" *SJT* 22 (1969) 189-96 and D. Hill, "'Son in Man' in Psalm 80:17," *NovT* 15 (1973)

(kingdoms).¹⁸⁵ But the promise of hope is that as God delegated to Adam/mankind authority over the beasts in creation, so in the end time he will give the "one like the son of man" (Israel herself, or Israel through her angelic or Messianic representative) everlasting dominion over every beast which formerly threaten her. The creation theology of man's role in the world in relationship to the animals, seen in Gen 1-2 and Ps 8, becomes a theological metaphor representing Israel's relationship to the nations.

As we could read the pattern of Dan 7 as a reflection of Zion theology, so we also can read it as an interpretation of Gen 1. The story of Gen 1, the opening scene of the waters of chaos, the intervention of the word of God to end chaos and establish creation, and the closing scene of dominion over the animals being given to man, is retold with reference to Israel's national vindication and glorification.

5. Conclusion

The vision of Dan 7 is one of the most clear examples of our thesis. When Israel's identity was under extreme duress from the power of Hellenism and the authority of Gentile kings, creation traditions became a vehicle in which her special election and destiny could be reasserted. Throughout the book of Daniel, central issues of Torah observance which caused tension for Jews living in a Hellenized world - food laws, the royal cult, the sanctity of the Temple, the authority of political rulers, the cultic calendar - are all addressed. Dan 7 holds out the promise that the God who decreed the end of chaos to establish the world would utter his word of judgment again and end the chaos threatening his elect people. And although the elect experienced the beastly tyranny of one Gentile king after another, God would soon give to them eternal dominion over the earth.

261-9. If this man-beast relationship originally applied to Davidic kingship theology, it could provide another avenue of the messianic interpretation of "man" in the man-beast relationship.

¹⁸⁵Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 80. The depiction of the Gentiles as animals is common in the OT. See for example Jer 4:7, 5:6, Eze 29:3f, Ps 68:31, 80:14. By their hybrid nature, these *Mischwesen* are unclean according to the command for each species to produce "according to its own kind." Perhaps this detail represents another way in which the Torah-centeredness of the community is expressed in Dan 7. Recall the use of unclean and predatory animals to represent the Gentiles in the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch.

In both the *Chaoskampf* pattern and in the contrast between the beasts and the son of man of Dan 7, we see the creation traditions of the Old Testament used to reaffirm Israel's nationalistic hopes of renewed glory and world dominion. Although the beasts of chaos threaten the people of the saints of the Most High, the Ancient of Days will soon decree the end of chaos and give to one like a son of man the dominion and glory and kingdom forever.

SECTION 5: THE DOCUMENTS FROM QUMRAN

1. Introduction: Creation Imagery in the Qumran Documents

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide a window into the thinking of a very specific sector of Judaism in the Second Temple Period. However, in the writings collected by the sectarians, we find a remarkable diversity of understanding. Some of the books found at Qumran, Ben Sira, 1 Enoch, and Jubilees for instance, were also transmitted apart from the community. A further diversity of ideas is represented in the texts we study below, the literature unique to the Qumran scrolls.¹⁸⁶ Yet, consistent themes also emerge - particularly the function of the Law (from the standpoint of the sectarian's interpretation) in demarcating those within the covenant from those outside the covenant, as well as a pervasive eschatological hope. As we shall see, many of the hopes of the community which considered itself to be the dawning of the new age were described using creation imagery and traditions.

2. The Continuation of OT Creation Themes in the Qumran Documents

As in the OT, God is praised many times as the Creator in the Qumran documents (see for instance 1QM 10:8b-18, 1QH 1:7-17, 12:4-11, 13:1-13, 11QPs^a 26). God's creative power is often spoken of in contrast to the frailty of man, a being of clay, of dust kneaded with water (1QH 1:21-23, 4:29-31).¹⁸⁷ God is also addressed as the one who "created Israel":

4Q160 2:5¹⁸⁸

5 And all the peoples of Thy lands shall know
[that] Thou hast created (ברא־תָהּ) them...

¹⁸⁶See particularly the warning by L. H. Schiffman, "Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 116-7, 129 on the dangers of uncritical syntheses of ideas from the documents. For an overview of the diversity in the writings of Qumran, as well as bibliography on the various scholarly viewpoints on the possible original setting of the texts, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 115-120 and the related footnotes. Given the present state of research on the DSS, any conclusions drawn must be regarded at best to be tentative. Our survey does not incorporate any of the recently released materials which appeared after research on this section had been completed, and makes no attempt to delineate how the various documents relate to the origin and ongoing evolution of the community and its ideas.

¹⁸⁷See E. Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," *StT* 9 (1956) 134.

¹⁸⁸Heb text from M. Baillet, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 10. ET by G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*³ (London: Penguin Books, 1987).

Elsewhere among the scrolls, it is stated that Israel was created specifically for the glory of God.

4Q504 3:3-4¹⁸⁹

3:3 Behold, all the nations are as nothing beside Thee,
they are counted as void (כ[ח]הו) and nought before Thee.

4 We have called on Thy Name alone.
Thou hast created us for Thy glory (ולכבודכה ברחמנו)...

This theme of Israel as an act of God's creation is followed by the themes of adoption and covenant. But Israel's identity is first established in contrast to the Gentile nations. The reference to the nations is taken from Isa 40:17, while the description of Israel, "created for thy glory," seems directly to echo Isa 43:7. By setting side-by-side these two texts from Isaiah in this fashion, it seems possible that the author intended to draw the contrast between Israel and the nations with reference to Gen 1: the nations are as chaos (חֵהוּ Gen 1:2), but Israel is created (ברא, Gen 1:1ff) for God's glory. If this is so, we have here an early example of the text of Gen 1 being utilized in an ethnocentric fashion. 1QM 10:8-16 and 1Q34 (Lit Pr) also describe Israel's election in terms of creation.

Another concept drawn from Isaiah is that the Creator is the Lord of history. 4Q180, a fragment of what seems to be a work detailing a periodization of history, states that God created (ברא) beforehand the ages of history.¹⁹⁰ Thus, the Qumran documents continue the OT ideas of God as the Creator of the cosmos and of Israel, and as the Lord of history.

3. The New Creation and Primeval Glory

Documents from Qumran are some of the earliest to associate closely "glory" with the figure of Adam.¹⁹¹ For instance, 4Q504 is one of the earliest texts which interprets "image of God" (Gen 1:26) as "glory of God," a frequent interpretation in later Rabbinic

¹⁸⁹Heb text from *DJD* 7, 142-143. ET by Vermes. Baillet comments on v 4 to note that בראחנו is spelled ברחמנו.

¹⁹⁰See J. M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 77-78.

¹⁹¹Ps. 8 certainly sets the biblical precedent, but with reference to mankind in general.

writings. The text begins with recalling God's wonderful acts from the beginning of eternity and then describes the creation of Adam, utilizing traditions from Gen 1-2.

4Q504 2:1-9 (Fr. 8 recto)¹⁹²

- 1 [Rememb]er, O Lo[r]d that ...
- 2 ... You are eternally living...
- 3 ... wondrous acts from ancient days and marvellous things
[since eternal years]
- 4 Thou hast fashioned A[dam],
our [f]ather in the likeness of [Thy] glory ([כה] כבוד);¹⁹³
- 5 Thou didst breathe [a breath of life] into his nostrils and with
understanding a knowledge [Thou didst give him] ...
- 6 Thou didst make [him] to rule [over the Gar]den of Eden which Thou
didst plant ...
- 7 and to walk in the land of glory
- 8 ... he guarded. And Thou didst enjoin him not to st[ray ...]
- 9 ... he is flesh and to dust [he will return (?)]

The phrase "in the likeness of Thy glory" clarifies beyond doubt an important description of eschatological salvation in the Scrolls. Immediately following this reference to the glory of Adam is the phrase examined above: "Thou hast created us for Thy glory" (4Q504 3:4). A number of texts promise that at the Visitation, the faithful are to inherit "all the glory of Adam."¹⁹⁴ We will examine the occurrence of this idea in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

1QH 17 is a sectarian Psalm which expresses trust in God who corrects, forgives, and pardons those of the covenant. Although humanity is frail, God is celebrated as one who is able to restore the faithful and who will assist them until the end. The closing promise of assurance is as follows:

1QH 17:15

- 15 Thou wilt cause them to inherit all the glory of Adam
(ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם)¹⁹⁵ and abundance of days.

A variation of the idea "to inherit all the glory of Adam" is found in 4Q171, a pesher on Ps 37. The hope that the covenanters would inherit the earth is frequent in the literature from Qumran. For instance, the War Scroll is devoted to the expectation of world conquest

¹⁹²Hebrew text from *DJD* 7, 162-163. ET by Vermes, except lines 2,3 which he does not include. They are translated from *DJD* 7.

¹⁹³[כה] כבוד also recalls Eze 1:28. See *DJD* 7, 163.

¹⁹⁴The occurrence of this phrase in 1QS 4:23, CD 3:20 and 1QH 17:15 had been translated by some without specific reference to Adam: "all the glory of man."

¹⁹⁵S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960) 245 argues specifically against the translation "the glory of Adam." But his argument for insisting upon the translation "the glory of man" is no longer valid in light of more recent publications of the finds at Qumran.

which results from the cosmic conflict involving both human and angelic beings.¹⁹⁶ A central theme in the interpretation of Ps 37 is that the sectarians will inherit the earth (4Q171 2:4-5, 9-10, 2:26-3:2, 3:9-11, 4:2-3).

4Q171 2:26-3:2¹⁹⁷

2:26 ["Yahweh knows the days of the blameless, and their inheritance (ונחלתם) will be forever."]

3:1 to the penitents of the desert who, saved, shall live for a thousand generations and to whom all the inheritance/glory of

2 Adam (כול נחלת אדם) shall belong, as also to their seed for ever.

Ps 37:18-19a is interpreted as being a promise to the sectarians that they will receive "all the inheritance of Adam."¹⁹⁸ As J. Carmignac commented, the phrase is "close in meaning" to the "glory of Adam."¹⁹⁹ As we saw above in 1QH 17, inheritance, glory and Adam are three associated eschatological words. Since the idea of "inheritance" is central throughout Ps 37, this may have influenced the author's selection of words. Remembering that Adam was created to govern the world (1QS 2:17-18), the phrase the "inheritance of Adam" seems to be another way of saying that the covenanters would "inherit the earth."

This is borne out in the later verses of the pesher.

4Q171 3:9-11²⁰⁰

9 "But the righteous one is gracious and generous,
for those who are blessed [by him will in]herit the land,
but those who are cursed by him [will be c]ut off.

10 Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the Poor Ones
who [] the inheritance of all (נחלת כול) the [].

11 They shall possess the High Mountain of Israel [for ever],
and shall enjoy [everlasting] delights in His Sanctuary.

¹⁹⁶See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 126-133.

¹⁹⁷Hebrew text from DJD 5, 44. ET of 2:26 by M. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979). ET of 3:1-2 by Vermes, except adding "inheritance" where Vermes has "glory."

¹⁹⁸This translation is accepted by M. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) 253, Horgan, *Pesharim*, 197, D. Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary of Psalm 37 From Qumran Cave 4," *RQ* 8 (1973) 168.

¹⁹⁹J. Carmignac, *Les textes de Qumrân* II (Paris, 1963) 123 n. 3. In fact, A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran* (ET by G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1961) 271 and Vermes, *DSSE*³ both translate כול נחלת אדם as "all the glory of Adam." Pardee, "A Restudy," 183 questions whether a simpler meaning "what each man inherits" could be the solution. He draws parallels with similar (but not identical) phrases in 1QS 4:16, 24.

²⁰⁰ET of v. 9 by Horgan, *Pesharim*, ET of 10-11 by Vermes.

The inheritance of the earth has with it a specific focus, the granting of Jerusalem and the Sanctuary to the control of the righteous. This idea is an important part of the new creation in a number of documents from Qumran.

The *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology is very clear in 1QS 4:23, where the inheriting of all the "glory of Adam" is linked with a reference to the new creation.

1QS 4:23-26²⁰¹

23) For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam (כול כבוד אדם) shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of falsehood shall be put to shame.

24) Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood struggle in the hearts of men 25) and they walk in both wisdom and folly. According to his portion of truth so does a man hate falsehood, and according to his inheritance in the realm of falsehood so is he wicked and so 26) hates truth. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the determined end, and until the Renewal (ועשות חרשה)

Again, a comparison is drawn between the glory of Adam in Paradise and the glory to be bestowed on the faithful at the Renewal.²⁰² Although in the present era humanity is under the influence of the two spirits (3:13-18a, 24), at the Renewal all falsehood and error will be done away with (4:18b-23). The sons of light are characterized in the Community Rule as having the following characteristics: "fear of the laws of God," "zeal for just laws," "admirable purity which detests all unclean idols" (4:2-6). This commitment to the Law is not to the Law in general, but specifically "in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will" (5:9). An important aspect of covenantal identity is "separation." The new initiate "shall undertake by the Covenant to separate from all the men of falsehood who walk in the way of wickedness" (5:2). Thus, the immediate context of the eschatological promises of a New Creation and

²⁰¹Hebrew text from M. Burrows, J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, Vol II, Fasc 2 (New Haven: ASOR, 1951). ET by Vermes, *DSSE*³.

²⁰²Note the promise a few verses earlier that in the Visitation, the righteous will be given "a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light" (1QS 4:7-8). Compare Sir 49:16. The translation "glory of Adam" is supported by W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (BASOR Supp Studies 10-12; New Haven: ASOR, 1951) 16-18, P. Wernberg-Møller, "Some Passages in the 'Zadokite' Fragments and their Parallels in the *Manual of Discipline*," *JSS* 1 (1956) 120 and *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959) 87, A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran*, 82, A. R. C. Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966) 160, M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Brown Judaic Studies 48; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 139, and "The New Creation in 1 Enoch," 13, 20, Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 35-36.

"all the glory of Adam" is the issue of fidelity to the Law, particularly as it demarcates the sons of light from the sons of darkness, those of the Spirit of truth from those of falsehood.

The phrase "ועשות חדשה" has been translated variously as "New Creation,"²⁰³ "the making of the New,"²⁰⁴ and "the Renewal."²⁰⁵ The description of final salvation in terms of a new creation seems dependent upon the verses in Isaiah which refer to salvation or redemption as the "new thing" or "new creation."²⁰⁶

This same theme of the renewal of creation is found in 1QH 13:11. This Psalm begins by celebrating God as the one who created all things from ancient times (13:1-11a). It continues by describing the eschatological destruction of the old order and a new creation. God's intention to destroy the old order and create anew has been revealed to the community "For Thou didst show them that which no other fle[sh had seen]..."²⁰⁷

1QH 13:11b-13²⁰⁸

11b) [by removing all] ancient things

and creating 12)new ones, (ולברוא חדשות)

by breaking asunder things anciently established,

and raising up the things of eternity

For [Thou art from the beginning]

and shalt endure 13)for ages without end.

And Thou hast [appointed] all these things

in the mysteries of Thy wisdom

to make known Thy glory [to all].

[But what is] the spirit of flesh that it should understand 14)all this.

1QH 13:11 seems to echo two "new creation" references in the OT previously discussed.

Isa 43:18-19²⁰⁹

18 Do not remember the former things, or consider the things of old.

19 I am about to do a new thing... (עֲשֵׂה חֲדָשָׁה)

Jer 31:22

22 ...For the Lord has created a new thing (בָּרָא יְהוָה חֲדָשָׁה) on the earth.

²⁰³M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 133, 136, 139, and "The New Creation in 1 Enoch," 13.

²⁰⁴Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 18, Wernberg-Møller, 27.

²⁰⁵Vermes, *DSSE*³, Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran*, 82, ("Renouvellement" in the French edition, 97).

²⁰⁶See J. Duncan -M. Derrett, "'New Creation' - Qumran, Paul, the Church, and Jesus," *RQ* 49-52 (1988) 599-600.

²⁰⁷Following the reconstruction and ET of this phrase by M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961) 41, 177-178. See also Derrett, "New Creation," 599, E. H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 30-31, Leaney, 160-161.

²⁰⁸ET by Vermes.

²⁰⁹Compare also Isa 42:9, 45:21, 46:10, 48:6-7, 52:15. See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 215.

Another occurrence of the promise to the righteous to inherit "all the glory of Adam" is CD 3:20. The phrase occurs in a section which draws analogy between the wilderness period and the present period of the sectarians.

CD 3:12b-4:4

3:12b But with those who adhered to the commandments of God,
 13 who were left over of them, God established (or: confirmed) His
 covenant with Israel by revealing
 14 to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray -
 His holy sabbaths and His glorious
 15 festivals, His righteous testimonies and His true ways, and the
 desires of His will, which a man should do
 16 and live by. He opened to them and they dug a well of copious
 water.
 17 [And those who despise it shall not live.] For they had been defiling
 themselves with human sinfulness and unclean practices
 18 and had said, 'but this is ours.' Yet God in His wonderful mysteries
 forgave their iniquity and removed their sin
 19 and built for them a sure house in Israel whose like has not stood
 from past times until
 20 now. Those who adhere to it will live for ever and all the glory of
 Adam (וכל כבוד אדם) shall be theirs. This is as
 21 God established for them in the words of Ezekiel the prophet, saying:
 "The priests, the levites, and the sons
 4:1 of Zadok who kept charge of My sanctuary when the children of
 Israel went astray
 2 from me, shall approach Me with fat and blood" (Eze 44:15). The
 priests are the 'captivity of Israel'
 3 who went out from the land of Judah, and (the levites are) those who
 joined them, and the sons of Zadok are the chosen ones of
 4 Israel, those 'called by name' who arise at the end of days.

Note in particular the sectarian concerns emphasized in the text. Yahweh's eternal covenant, originally intended for all Israel, is now applicable only to the remnant, for the rest of Israel has broken covenant with Yahweh.²¹⁰ Apart from the remnant, all others in Israel "have gone astray" in regards to preserving the sanctity of the Sabbath (an issue of extreme importance throughout the DSS), the proper observances of feasts (a likely reference to sectarian disputes over the calendar), and the keeping of the Law. The correct practice of these observances has been "revealed" to the faithful few. Only those who are faithful to the true house, the community of the sectarians, will inherit the primeval glory of Adam. As in 1QS 4:23, the promise of the glory of Adam is given to those who adhere to the sectarian interpretation of the Law.

²¹⁰M. O. Wise, "The Covenant of Temple Scroll 29:3-10," *RQ* 14 (1989) 58-59.

The demarcation between those who remained faithful to "the sanctuary" (in fact, those who have separated themselves from the pollution of the Second Temple) and the rest of Israel who went astray is reinforced by the pesher on Eze. 44:15 (CD 3:20-4:4). The true priesthood of Israel are the sectarians. The text seems to hold out the hope that in the eschaton true worship will be restored to the people of God under the direction of the sectarians. This section of CD closes with the reminder that only those who join and adhere to the sectarians in the present age can inherit the glory of the future age.

4. The Creation of the New Temple

We noted earlier this connection between the new creation and the New Temple in 4Q171 2:26-3:11 and CD 3:12b-4:4. This link is found also in 11QT 29. In the text, God promises to accept the sacrifices of Israel, his covenant people. His glory resides in the present Temple and will reside in the future Temple.

11QT 29:8b-10²¹¹

29:8b And I will consecrate my Temple by my glory, [the Temple] on which I will

9 settle my glory, until the day of the blessing (or, the day of creation)²¹² on which I will create (אֶבְרֵא) my Temple

10 and establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel.

This portion of the Temple Scroll makes clear that the instructions of the Temple Scroll apply to the present earthly Temple.²¹³ But in the future, God will create a new Temple, destined to stand for all time.²¹⁴ The future sanctuary which the sectarians will inherit will

²¹¹ET by Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (Random House: New York, 1985) 113. Hebrew Text is from Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Heb ed) (3 vols.; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1977).

²¹²Photographed from the front, the word reads הַבְּרִיאָה or creation. But the mirror writing on the back of Col 31 seems to read הַבְּרִכָּה, or blessing. See B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983) 238 n. 127.

²¹³Contra Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran*, 21ff. See J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll* (JSOT Supp 34; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985) 86, and Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 113.

²¹⁴Compare 4Q174 (Flor) 1.2-5, which we will examine in greater detail in the chapter on Galatians. F. G. Martinez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992) 209-210 argues that the future temple is described also in 5Q15 (NJ) and 1QM 2:1-6. For an overview of the complex questions regarding whether 11QTemple or 5Q15 originated with the sect or were simply preserved by them, see Martinez, 204-5.

For the "covenant with Jacob at Bethel," see Maier, *Temple Scroll*, 86 and Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law*, 114-115. However, as Wise, "The Covenant of Temple Scroll 29:3-10," 54-60 points out, the fact that the scroll has broken off after the mention of Jacob at Bethel may have led to an undue emphasis upon a covenant with Jacob. In the twelve or so lines which are missing, the text could

be a "new creation." This hope for the creation of a new, eternal sanctuary is found also in Jub 1:17, 29 and the AA. However, the context of 11QT 29:8-10 is explicitly sectarian. The inheriting of the promise of the creation of a new temple is conditioned (the entire text is covenantally orientated) upon the fulfillment of the cultic commands found in 29:3-7.²¹⁵ The critical attitude of the sect towards the Second Temple is well-known, and we have seen elsewhere where they have transferred priestly and levitical promises to themselves. Thus, again we have the use of creation language in the context of sectarian concern regarding the proper fulfillment of the traditions of Judaism.

5. The Gentiles

E.P. Sanders has shown in a thorough examination of the DSS that the sectarians considered three groups to be outside the covenant: apostates from the community, ethnic Israelites who were not joined to the community, and the Gentiles. When concerned with the present age, the texts most often contrast the covenanters with the unrighteous within Israel (the corrupt Jerusalem leadership and priesthood, the "seekers of smooth things" (Pharisees), "men of the lot of Belial," etc.). However, when the texts are concerned with the eschatological age, the contrast is between the covenanters and the Gentiles. The covenanters therefore saw themselves as still a part of Israel and held hopes that the end of times would see the salvation of many from ethnic Israel (through joining the community), and the destruction of the Gentiles.²¹⁶ Thus, the ethical dualism between the righteous and unrighteous within Israel coexisted alongside the maintenance of an ethnic dualism between Israel and the Gentiles. 1QM 12.7-8 contains an example of traditional nationalistic hopes:

He will raise up the kingdom of Michael in the midst of the gods,
and the dominion of Israel in the midst of all flesh.

have well gone on to list other biblical patriarchs, making the promise of God's presence to be based upon the more general covenantal promises of the OT.

²¹⁵Wise, "The Covenant of Temple Scroll 29:3-10," 56.

²¹⁶Sanders, *PPJ*, 242-257. Note particularly his extensive survey on pp. 244-5, where Sanders points out that the name "Israel" was never claimed exclusively by the sectarians. For the destruction of the Gentiles, see 1QSa 1:21, and the role of the Davidic Messiah in 4Q161.

As we shall discuss below, proselytes were in some documents barred from the New Temple (4Q174 (Flor) 1:3-4), or needed to wait until the fourth generation to have the same entry rights as ethnic Jews (11QTemple 3:5, 40:6).

6. The New Creation Realized in the Covenant Community

One of the most striking aspects of the hopes for the eschatological future portrayed in the documents from Qumran is the equivalent emphasis on the present realization of these hopes in the covenantal community. Many of the documents indicate that the community considered itself to be the starting point for the "end of days."²¹⁷ Thus, through membership in the covenant community, one is "raised from the dust" into fellowship with the angelic host.²¹⁸ The word used to describe this individual act of "new creation" in 1QH 11:13-14 (renewal, שׁוּדָּר) is the same word used to portray the eschatological consummation (1QS 4:26). As in the future Visitation, where the cleansing through the Holy Spirit is anticipated (1QS 4:19-22), present renewal is marked by cleansing from sin by the Spirit (1QH 3:21-22, 11:11-13).²¹⁹ Thus, incorporation into the sect resulted in both present and future participation in the new creation.

7. Conclusions

The eschatological ideas expressed in the Qumran documents are diverse and complex.²²⁰ Our brief study has shown that certain eschatological hopes common to these diverse documents are expressed with the help of creation imagery.

7.1 Old Testament Creation Traditions.

Belief in God as the Creator of the cosmos is declared many times, particularly in the sectarian psalms. Two related themes, found in the OT, are also found in the DSS. God is not only the creator of all things, he specifically focused his power as Creator in the creation

²¹⁷See CD 4:4, 7:18-21, and the discussion in Schiffman, "Messianic Figures," 118.

²¹⁸1QH 3:19-36, 11:3, 7-14, On the realized eschatology of the Hymns as fellowship with angels, see Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," 131-3, H-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliern von Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 44-52, P. Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der καὶνὴ κτίσις bei Paulus," *EvT* 27 (1967) 8, also 13-14, and "Behold, I Make All Things New!" *Lutheran World* 15 (1968) 9, who believes the community meals provided the setting for this experience, and Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 134.

²¹⁹See Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," 134-5, Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 48-52, Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 13-14.

²²⁰See J. J. Collins, "Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran," 351-375 in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (ed. B. Halpern and J. Levenson; Cross FS; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981) 372.

of Israel. As God created the world, he also created Israel "for his glory." In this way, Israel's election and priority in the world is supported through creation imagery, as it is in the OT. Furthermore, the Creator is the Lord of history, whose creative decrees determined and govern the ages of history, of which the present age was understood to be the turning point of history.

7.2 "Inheriting all the glory of Adam" at "the New Creation"

As Koch has pointed out, "glory" is a frequent catchword in apocalyptic literature.²²¹ We have examined in the Qumran literature four instances in which the faithful are promised that they will "inherit all the glory of Adam." This phrase seems to have a two-fold sense. The interpretation of "in the image and likeness of God" as being the "glory of God" is evident from 4Q504 2:1-12. *Urzeit-Endzeit* imagery is employed in this promise - that the covenanters would enjoy in the New Creation the glory given Adam in Paradise (1QS 4:23, CD 3:20, 11QH 17:5).

"Inheriting all the glory of Adam" also seems to be an image used to describe the promise of "inheriting the earth." The promise to "inherit all the glory of Adam" seems to be tied into the idea that Adam was given responsibility to govern the whole world. Thus, creation imagery is used to support what could be called a sectarian nationalism. Their beliefs reflect a sense of nationalism, because in the eschatological age, those faithful to the covenant would overcome all oppressors within Judaism and bring into subjection all Gentile nations. But these hopes are clearly sectarian, in that the covenanters claimed exclusively for themselves (over-against others in Judaism) this eschatological hope of national and political preeminence. From the context of these references, it is clear that present faithfulness to Law and to the community was the means by which one could come to possess these eschatological promises in the future.

²²¹Koch, *Rediscovery*, 28-33.

7.3 The Creation of a New Temple

Another aspect of the New Creation is the belief that God would "create" a New Temple (11QT 29:8b-10). This glorious and eternal Temple is to be under the leadership of the covenanters, those who inherit "all the glory of Adam" (CD 3:20-4:4, 4Q171 2:26-3:11).

7.4 Present Purity and the New Creation

It should be stressed that the context of many of these descriptions of the eschatological hope of primeval glory occur specifically in the context of a charge to remain faithful to the covenant as interpreted by the sectarians. To qualify to be among those upon whom the primeval glory of Adam will rest in the future, to be numbered among the eschatological priesthood which will preside over the New Temple created in the eschaton, one must now adhere to the sectarian interpretation of the Law. The central issues of sectarian interpretation, purity, Sabbath, cult and calendar, all issues of "boundary marking" against the secularization of the Gentile world, have implications for the hope of inheriting the blessings of the New Creation.

We can conclude in reference to the documents from Qumran, both in the ones unique to the sectarians as well as the more widely available books of 1 Enoch, Jubilees and Ben Sira, that creation theology and imagery is frequently utilized to describe the hopes of the community, and to encourage fidelity to the Law and separation from all who fail to do likewise. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the hope of Paradise restored is limited to those who adhere faithfully to the sectarian interpretation of the Law, an interpretation which emphasized separation from the influences of the Gentile world²²² and those corrupted by the Gentile world.

²²²Even the laws regulating commerce with Gentiles are meant to give instructions on maintaining purity in spite of necessary interaction with Gentiles, and not to give encouragement to engage in greater interaction.

SECTION 6: CONCLUSION

1. The Eschatological New Creation

In 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Dan 7, and the writings of Qumran are numerous instances in which final salvation is described in terms of a new creation. In the various documents we have considered, the utilization of the *Urzeit-Endzeit* pattern draws into descriptions of the eschaton references to "a new creation" (many times in citation of Isa 65-66), the renewal of the heavens, the repetition of cosmogony, Jerusalem as Paradise/Eden (including Tree of Life imagery), Zion as eschatological cosmic mountain and the restoration of the primal glory of Adam to the elect.

Most of this utilization of creation imagery is an extension of examples we encountered in the OT. One new emphasis to note is the renewal specifically of the heavenly realm. Because human sin and suffering was understood to be induced and empowered by fallen or hostile angelic powers, the "sinless" future hoped for could only become a reality if these demonic forces were destroyed as part of the act of new creation. This understanding reflects the spatial dualism of apocalyptic theology, in which the earthly and heavenly realms are both distinct and interrelated. In Daniel, the nations are a reflection of the beast-like powers of chaos who will shortly come under the dominion given the manlike figure, humanity as God intended the offspring of Adam to be. In the Book of Watchers, the fallen watchers and their demon offspring will be destroyed at the Great Judgment which precedes the new creation. Hostile spiritual forces are also destroyed as an aspect of the process of new creation in the 10 Week Apocalypse and the Animal Apocalypse.

In describing the eschatological future which awaited the righteous, creation imagery was employed to encourage present faithfulness in the midst of persecution and humbling circumstances.

2. Creation Imagery and the Identity of the People of God

All of the apocalyptic literature we have considered draws a firm line of distinction between the faithful/righteous and the apostate/wicked. Present faithfulness will result in enjoying the new creation, present apostasy will result in future destruction. Thus, the issues which identify who are numbered among the faithful people of God become all important in light of the imminence of the eschatological age. Our study has confirmed that not only Torah faithfulness in general, but the issues of Torah faithfulness which marked Judaism off from Hellenistic culture, established the identity of the righteous. Furthermore, the literature reviewed shows that the ethical dualism demarcates the righteous and unrighteous within Israel: it draws a contrast between those who have maintained the traditional distinctives of Judaism (and the sectarian interpretation of these practices) and those who had been "secularized" by the Gentile world.

In the writings from Qumran, only those who walk by the spirit of truth, in faithfulness and ritual purity, will inherit "all the glory of Adam." In Daniel, those who will be granted in the political realm authority akin to the authority of Adam over the beasts are the "holy ones," a holiness and righteousness defined in specific reference to food laws (Dan 1) and resistance to idolatry (the royal cult - Dan 3, 6). In Jubilees, those who will assist in bringing about the new creation are those who return to the precepts of the Torah and separate themselves from the Gentiles, particularly in regard to the issues of nudity, calendar, intermarriage, and food impurity.

Creation imagery and theology was frequently used to encourage this fidelity to the covenant and separation from the Gentiles. The matter of "identity through separation," of boundary markers and identity badges, was addressed by the use of creation themes and imagery.

2.1 Cosmology and Covenantal Nomism

The correct cultic calendar was determined by revelation of the structure of the cosmos. Because the cultic calendar determined the celebration of Sabbath and feasts, the

proper practise of which determined covenantal standing, cosmology becomes linked to covenantal nomism. Thus, not only cosmogony, the story of creation, but cosmology, insight into the structure of creation, becomes a way in which creation theology clarifies the identity of the people of God. The correct calendar is specifically "not like the Gentiles," and furthermore, not like that followed by the religious hierarchy of Jerusalem who have succumbed to Gentile influence. Calendrical disputes are evident in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the writings from Qumran. Although some of the cosmological revelation in apocalypses is not polemical, much of what we have reviewed is addressed towards determining present righteousness and insuring future reward for this faithfulness.

2.2 Creation and Cult

The retelling of the fatal results of the crossing of divinely ordained boundaries by the Watchers when they took human wives is addressed in the issue of ethnic and social purity in priestly marriages. In Jubilees, the creation narrative of Gen 2 becomes a *halakhah* regarding the laws of purification after childbirth, particularly in reference to the Temple. Our study noted frequent expressions of a critical attitude towards the priestly hierarchy in Jerusalem, often with reference to creation imagery. 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Qumran documents also show the anticipation of the creation of a New Temple as part of the process of new creation.

3. The Creation Stories and Social Distinctives

The creation stories are rewritten in Jubilees to address key issues in the encounter of conservative Judaism and Hellenism. Gen 2:1 becomes a proof-text for both the essential nature of the practice of Sabbath and the prominent role it plays in identifying Israel as God's elect. Because the Sabbath has been observed by God and the angels from the beginning, in observing it Israel shows her link with the divine world. Similarly, the people of God are commanded to practise circumcision because the angels were created in this manner. Thus two central issues of Torah-faithfulness, circumcision and Sabbath, identify

the people of God 1)through separation from the Gentiles, and 2)through identification with the divine world. Jub 3 also addresses the prohibition of nudity, an issue brought to the forefront in the institution of the gymnasium, with reference to Gen 3. Thus, creation imagery and theology play a crucial role in defending the very practices of the Law which were focal points in Jew-Gentile relationships.

4. Nationalism and Universalism

Although the emphasis on ethical dualism seems to overshadow the issue of ethnic dualism in apocalyptic literature, our study has shown that nationalism remains a continuing concern in apocalyptic eschatology. The *Völkerfahrt* tradition of the homage of the nations given to eschatological Zion is frequent in these writings. Adam is portrayed as patriarch of Israel (1 Enoch, Jubilees) and as the prototype of the glory and dominion she will enjoy in the new creation. The righteous are to conquer and inherit the whole world in the Qumran literature. This dominion over the world, which reflects the creation blessings to Adam and Noah, is also evident throughout Jubilees. Daniel 7 promises "the people of the saints of the Most High" that cosmogony will be repeated and they, like Adam, will be given dominion over all the beasts and inherit the kingdom. Thus political and ethnic nationalism continue to play an important part in apocalyptic eschatology.

As we have seen above, Jewish apocalyptic literature places definite emphasis on the separation from the Gentiles and their ways. However, in 1 Enoch, this present exclusiveness is at times contrasted with a future inclusiveness. Gentiles are depicted as being included in the salvation of the new creation. The Animal Apocalypse takes this to its farthest extreme: in the New Temple, both Jew and Gentile will be transformed into white bulls with the appearance of the second Adam. But in the present era, the crucial period upon which history will turn, the faithful within Israel must continue to observe the traditions of Judaism, traditions which separate them from the Gentiles and identify them as the people of God.

Chapter 4. Galatians: New Creation, Adam Christology and the Life-Giving Spirit

SECTION 1. JEWISH POLITICAL AND THEOLOGICAL NATIONALISM AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

1. The Occasion of the Letter: New Creation and National Righteousness

The central "issue" in Paul's letter to the Galatians is the question whether *Gentile-Christians* needed to become *Jewish-Christians* in order to be fully incorporated into the covenantal people of God. Must believing Gentiles become proselytes in order to enter into the Israel of God? Did ethnic boundaries, national privilege, the issues of cultural distinctiveness and identity, still play a role in defining the people of God in the new creation? Does one have to be incorporated into the covenant of ethnic Israel in order to have a righteous standing before God?¹

But in answering these *intra-Christian* questions, Paul's focus shifts from "another gospel" to Judaism itself and its understanding of the Law. To a large extent, the questions raised by the incorporation of the Gentiles find their answers in re-interpreting the election of Israel. Paul's general criticism of those who practised Judaism in his time was that they placed too great a value on "a righteousness of their own" (Rom 10:3), a covenantal standing before God which by definition included national citizenship and ethnic descent, where the covenantal boundaries *emphasized* were those things most prominently felt as cultural boundaries: those distinctly Jewish practises which identified and self-identified Jew from Gentile.² This is not to imply that circumcision, Sabbath observance, cultic feast days

¹For the inclusion of the Gentiles as the main issue in Galatians, along with those listed in the next footnote (and many others), see T. L. Donaldson, "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3:13-14," *NTS* 32 (1986) 94, G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (SNTSM 35; Cambridge: CUP, 1979) 46-82, L. Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," in *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (ed. A.T. Davie; New York: Paulist, 1979) 48-71.

²Not "works righteousness," the accumulation of merits before God, but national, ethnically defined, righteousness. On this interpretation of Rom 10:3, see J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (2 vols.; WBC 38; Waco: Word, 1988) 2.595-6, E. P. Sanders, "Paul on the Law, His Opponents, and the Jewish People in Philippians 3 and 2Cor 11," in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Vol. 1: Paul and the Gospels* (ed. P. Richardson; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986) 79, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*

and food laws were the only "works of the Law" considered significant, or that they would have been considered even the most significant aspects of covenantal life. But as both the Jewish and Christian literature of the period reveals, in the interaction between Judaism and the wider Gentile world, it was these areas of dissimilarity which led to misunderstanding and conflict, which in turn raised these "works of the Law" to a level of prominence in defining Jewish identity for both Jew and Gentile.

Thus, Paul responded to the crisis in Galatia by addressing the immediate question of whether Gentile Christians should be required to become proselytes, a question which reflected the wider issue of the covenantal practises which most clearly distinguished Jew from Gentile. In Galatians, Paul redefines the covenantal boundaries which demarcated membership in the people of God.

"The boundary marker is faith in Christ and *not* Jewish race, with its badges of circumcision, kosher laws, Sabbath observance and, in and through all, the possession of, or attempts to keep, Torah, so that racial background is irrelevant to membership in the people of God. Paul's theology thus has, if you like, a sociological cutting edge...³

To this range of issues we bring the question of our thesis: how does Paul use creation imagery and creation theology, in continuity and in contrast to coterminous Jewish literature, to address how the Gentiles enter into the Israel of God, and how the new creation impacts the applicability of the Law of the Covenant and the boundaries it established around the people of God? We will argue that Paul based his counter-attack on the eschatological dualism between "the world" and the "new creation," that he utilized creation imagery and theology to redefine the identity of the people of God, that Paul's use of creation theology was in direct contrast to its use in other Jewish literature where it reinforced the distinction between Jew and Gentile, that Adam Christology is one of the chief theological ideas which

(London: SCM, 1985) 38. On Israel's covenant and the distinction between Jew and Gentiles see Sanders, *PPJ*, 206ff (Rabbinical writings), 243, 247f, 252, 257 (DSS), H. L. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 66, 141, 199, J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1993) 168-70 (particularly the bibliography on 170), 205, 238 and Paul's critique of this aspect of Judaism in Sanders, *PLJP*, 18-19, 46-47, 154-5, 159, Schoeps, 250, and Dunn, *Partings*, 148. Also on national righteousness, see Wright, *Messiah*, 36, 85, 89-92. See also W. D. Davies, *Gospel and Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 168-177, and *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 58-66.
³Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 3.

underpins the soteriology of Galatians, and that the Spirit, as sign of the new creation, greatly informed his viewpoint on the covenant people and their Law. Paul's response to the political, social and theological aspects of Jewish nationalism impeding the progress of the Gentile mission was rooted in primal time and new creation.

2. The General Setting of Galatians

As the issues on the general background to Galatians have been so extensively discussed by others, and having nothing substantially new to add to previous arguments, we will only state our position on the basic issues in order to allow space to do a more complete study of a key background issue for our thesis - the relationship of Jewish nationalism to the Galatian letter. Paul's authorship of Galatians is rarely questioned. The geographic location of the recipients (north Galatia/ethnic Galatians or south Galatia/Roman province) has yet to be shown to have any significant impact on understanding the theology of the letter, so we pass over the issue without further discussion.⁴ For the epistolary structure of the letter, most recent commentators are indebted to Betz (although many have attempted to refine aspects of his analysis).⁵ As to the date of the letter, this study assumes a post-Council of Jerusalem date in the early 50's (perhaps sometime between 50 and 51, with a date up to 54 still possible) and that in all likelihood it was written from Corinth.⁶ As will become clear in what follows, I believe the opponents of Paul were Jewish-Christians who in some fashion represented the church in Jerusalem.⁷ They had been teaching the Galatians on the need to be circumcised (the final step to becoming proselytes) as a way of being fully

⁴F. F. Bruce, *Galatians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 5-18 and R. A. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Waco: Word, 1990) lxi-lxxii provide thorough overviews of the Lightfoot (north) and Ramsey (south) arguments, along with extensive bibliography.

⁵H. D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 14-28 and in the analysis which begins each section.

⁶For a discussion of the "visits to Jerusalem" and the coordination of the material in Acts and in Galatians, see chapter 4 of R. Jewett, *Dating Paul's Life* (London: SCM, 1979), and the additional bibliography in J. D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11-18)," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 163 n. 6.

⁷They could represent a "party" within the Jerusalem church who had risen to influence, or have been from Antioch but following through on directives from Jerusalem (compare Acts 15:24). I believe they represent a "single-front" (versus "two-front" theories which see also a "libertine/pneumatikoi" front). For a defense of the "single-front" thesis, and in regards to the wider questions regarding Paul's opponents, see G. Luedemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 97-99. See also the helpful study by J. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 31 (1978) 73-93.

incorporated into the covenant, but the Galatians had already shown an interest in the Jewish cultic calendar (Sabbath and feasts) and possibly also concern for the Jewish laws governing food purity. I believe that the attempts of "the agitators" to make Paul's converts to Christ also converts to Judaism reflect the political and social pressures upon Palestinian Jews (in addition to the boundaries inherent to a theology of covenant and election). Paul's recognition of this fact determined to a significant degree how he targeted his response to the controversy. Thus, we turn our attention to the issues of Jewish nationalism and ethnocentrism during the period of the "crisis in Galatia."

3. Politics and Persecution: Political Nationalism and the Galatian Letter

Who are the opponents of Paul's opponents in Galatia? In establishing the background to the letter of Galatians, one of the most puzzling points of interpretation is this verse towards the beginning of the conclusion of the letter.

Gal 6:12

It is those who want to make a good showing in flesh
that would compel you to be circumcised,
and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ.

"Οσαι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί,
οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι,
μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ Χριστοῦ μὴ διώκωνται.

Paul's claim is that his opponents' wish "to make a good showing in flesh" is *solely motivated* (μόνον ἵνα) by a desire to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ.⁸ Thus, fear of persecution is the motivating factor in their efforts to convince the Galatian Christians to be circumcised and enter Judaism as full proselytes. Why should Paul's opponents be held responsible or be specifically affected by the stance of the Galatians? After all, they themselves neither held Paul's view, nor were directly responsible for the adherence of the Galatians to Paul's gospel. Is this simply unsupported, heated polemic tossed off as a parting shot by Paul? Or is the issue of fear and persecution somehow integral to both the crisis in Galatia and the motivation for Paul's opponents? This phrase occurs at far too

⁸Rendering this a causal dative, with Moule, *Idiom* 45. As we shall see, persecution and suffering are themes which run throughout the letter, and forms one the chief contrasts between Paul and his opponents and between those in the present age and in the new creation.

crucial a point in the argument of Galatians to be dismissed without full examination. Thus we turn our full attention to this puzzling phrase.

In trying to establish "the opponents of the opponents," we are looking for an indirect cause for the Galatian crisis. Assuming that Paul's opponents in Galatia were Jewish-Christians connected in some manner with the Jerusalem church (as stated in the introduction), why would fear of persecution motivate them to make an effort to have Gentile believers in Christ Judaize? The issue of the persecution must go beyond the belief in Jesus Messiah, for this was the common faith they shared with Paul's Galatian converts. Given that the central question of the letter of Galatians is whether Gentile-Christians needed to become Jewish-Christians to be fully incorporated into the Israel of God, it seems worth exploring whether or not the intensified climate of Jewish nationalism and ethnocentrism during the time of the writing of Galatians contributed to the threat of persecution upon the Jerusalem church, pressure which members of that church believed could be relieved to a degree if Gentile-Christians became also Jewish proselytes.

3.1 Jewish Nationalism After the Death of Herod Agrippa

With the Roman occupation of Palestine, Jewish national identity had received a devastating blow with the loss of sovereignty and the subsequent partitioning of the Land into territories (63 BCE). Yet, the decades which followed under Roman rule were in actuality years of relative stability, as the Jews and particularly their practice of religion retained a significant degree of autonomy under Herodian rule. However, the decade of the 40's brought a major shift in tide, intensifying latent nationalistic feelings, and plunging the Jewish nation into the process which would culminate in the Great War and the destruction of the Temple.

In 44 CE, the death of King Agrippa brought to an end not only the Herodian dynasty, but the era of Jewish kingship. Religious autonomy had been assured through the presence of a Jewish king, as had the preeminence of Jewish priorities in spite of the presence of the numerous non-Jews living in Palestine. Now this security could no longer

be taken for granted.⁹ The resulting nationalistic unrest was further exacerbated when the Jewish army attached to Agrippa (small as it was) was dissolved upon his death.¹⁰ Thus, three fundamental symbols of nationalism, sovereignty of the land, kingship, and army, were completely eliminated. Furthermore, as a number of the Jewish writings surveyed reveal, many Jews considered that the priesthood of the Temple had been corrupted by Gentile influences and the desire for political power. The coming of Roman governors in place of Jewish kings placed the Temple even further under the influence of Rome's political power and those who benefited most from that power, the wealthy. Nationalistic feelings, which for the general populace had been expressed passively for many years, were invigorated by the sudden and sweeping threat to Jewish identity by the events of 44 CE. Mendels describes it well:

...This vacuum, into which Jews who had nationalistic feelings were thrown, was one of the main reasons for the unrest in Palestine from the mid forties up to the Great War.¹¹

Recent studies have refined our understanding of the role of "zealot" groups in the decades leading up to the Great Revolt.¹² In particular, some degree of distinction should be maintained between the various revolutionary groups. Thus, Judas the Galilean and the Fourth Philosophy, the Sicarii, the millenarian prophets, rural social banditry, and the Zealots of the Jewish Revolt, groups which earlier scholarship had banded together as the one Zealot movement, should be viewed as separate, yet overlapping, independence movements.¹³ These diverse revolutionary groups were united by their shared desire to

⁹Mendels, 222.

¹⁰Mendels, 251.

¹¹Mendels, 251, also 199.

¹²A good overview on scholarship on the Zealots can be found in D.R. Schwartz, "Christian Study of the Zealots," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 128-146.

¹³One of the central emphases of R. Horsley with J. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs. Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985). Their work builds upon the previous hesitations over a single Zealot movement by such scholars as K. Lake, "Appendix A: The Zealots," in *The Beginnings of Christianity* (5 vols; ed. K. Lake and F.J. Foakes-Jackson; London/New York: Macmillan, 1920-1933) 1421-25, S. Zeitlin, "Zealots and Sicarii," *JBL* 81 (1962) 395-98, M. Smith, "Zealots and Sicarii: Their Origins and Relation," *HTR* 64 (1971) 1-19.

Questions still remain whether Horsley's own methodology has forced him into an overly rigid demarcation of these groups. For instance, the activity of the Sicarii was not limited to urban terrorism. According to Josephus, they looted and destroyed villages in the countryside (*War* 2.264-66; *Ant.* 20.172; while at Masada - *War* 4.503-507, also *War* 7.254). Then again, it was the rural bandits who stormed into the metropolis Jerusalem at the beginning of the Great Revolt. These social groups seem to show little hesitation in crossing over their assigned sociological boundaries!

uphold the Torah, the traditions of Judaism, and the quest for the freedom of Israel, but had distinctive theological, historical and sociological characteristics. The former "one party" reconstruction reflects too closely *Josephus' own purpose* of trying to isolate the nationalistic movement against Roman from the mainstream of Judaism (and particularly, Judaism as a religion) by confining it to a single stream of seeming radicals. By freeing the concept of "zeal for God" and the desire for the liberation of Israel from within the limited confines of a particular political group, the Zealots, we can see, as Horsley writes, that

most of the ideas believed to be distinctive to the Zealots...were probably common Palestinian Jewish ideas. ...opposition to the Roman rule of Jewish Palestine may have been far more widespread and spontaneous, although less politically conscious, than previously imagined when opposition was believed to be concentrated in the one organized Zealot movement...¹⁴

Intense nationalistic feelings were present across the spectrum of Palestinian Jews in the period between the death of Agrippa and the onset of the Great War.¹⁵

The recognition of widespread nationalistic feeling (usually latent, but ready to be stirred into active protest or rebellion) that was not connected simply to a political party (the old concept of Zealots) underscores the nationalism inherent in the Jewish faith: the combination of zeal for the Law and zeal for Israel. E.P. Sanders writes regarding this period of Jewish history:

What was *particular* to the situation was not taxation and a hard-pressed peasantry, but the Jewish combination of theology and patriotism. Any

S. Freyne, "Bandits in Galilee: A Contribution to the Study of Social Conditions in First-Century Palestine," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism* (Kee FS; ed. J. Neusner, et. al.; Philadelphia, Fortress, 1988) 50-68, critiquing Horsley's application of the concept of social banditry, has shown that this type of banditry applies far less to the banditry which occurred in the Galilean region than to the banditry which occurred in Judea. The banditry which occurred in Judea was social banditry, influenced to a great degree by its proximity to Jerusalem, the Temple, and the religious focus of the region. Again, urban and rural banditry are seen to be mutually influential. The focus of the Sicarii in Judea is also noted by Smith, "Zealots and Sicarii," 15.

¹⁴Horsley, *Bandits*, xv.

¹⁵Expressions of "cultural nationalism" come to the forefront as the symbols of "political nationalism" are repressed. The wider Jewish population, having lost all political power, would have intensified their focus on those ethnic symbols over which they could still exercise control: works of the Law, such as circumcision, dietary Laws, Sabbath and calendar. Relatively powerless to fight the enemy without, the focus came upon the enemies within. Thus, the boundaries served not only to keep out (the Gentiles), it served to cast out (the apostate - accordingly defined by each faction). For an account of the general rise of social political awareness in the priorities of Judaism during the time of Paul, see Dunn, "Incident at Antioch," 133-148, noting especially the social significance of dietary Laws.

disregard of national tradition was offensive to God, and people loyal to God knew that he would save them.¹⁶

Similarly, the recent evaluation by Martin Hengel:

Social distress certainly *also* played at times an essential part in the prehistory of the first revolt and especially in its further course, but it was not the dominant and main reason... The ultimate cause of all three suicidal wars is in the end undoubtedly to be found in the Jewish religion, which was unique in the ancient world with its theocratic ideal and its especially pronounced eschatological expectation around the turn of the millennium.¹⁷

Social distress was the fuel for *religious* zeal, and in this way the various revolutionary groups were heirs of the Maccabean revolt. The central idea of the Maccabean independence movement was "zeal for the Law," exemplified by Phineas who, due to zeal for God and in order to avert the wrath of God upon Israel, slew not only the Midianite woman but also the Israelite man who had stepped over the boundary of the covenant through his relationship with her. This zealot idea is well-attested over a broad cross-section of Jewish literature.¹⁸ Although political independence resulted in the Maccabean revolt, the starting point was resistance to encroachments on Jewish covenantal (and cultural) distinctives (circumcision, dietary laws, 1 Macc 1:60-3) and the initial goal of the revolt was the liberation of the Temple.¹⁹ Although Josephus, by isolating the revolutionary movements, intentionally tries to disassociate Judaism from statehood and nationalism (particularly in *Antiquities*), his own inability to fully disguise this link reveals the depth of the inter-relationship between the quest for national independence and the faith of Israel.²⁰

The events which Josephus reports under the first Roman procurators each represent a combination of social unrest and religious zeal. The issue of *religious autonomy* was raised when Fadus (the first procurator, 44-46) attempted to have the vestments of the high

¹⁶E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63BCE - 66CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992) 168-9.

¹⁷M. Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989) xiv, the Foreword to the English Translation.

¹⁸The zeal of Phineas is widely commented upon in Jewish literature: see for example Sir 45:23f, 1Macc 2:26, 54, 58, 4Macc 18:12, Ps-Philo 47.1, 2Bar 66:1-8, *m. Sanh.* ix.6; cf. *Ant.* 18.23). Elijah was also considered an important representative of one who was zealous for God (1 Kg 18-19), as well as Simeon and Levi (see the re-interpretation of the slaughter of the Shechemites (Gen 34) in Jub 30:18, TLevi 6:3, Jth 9:2-4.). See Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 10-11, *Zealots*, 146-227.

¹⁹J. D. G. Dunn, "Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Galatians 3:10-14)," in *JPL*, 217, Mendels, 130, 138-9.

²⁰See particularly, D. R. Schwartz, "Temple and Desert: On Religion and State in Second Temple Period Judaea," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 33-34.

priest deposited under Roman control in Antonia. This religious issue caused great *civil* unrest, resolved only by an edict from Claudius which granted the Jews control of the vestments and affirmed their religious autonomy.²¹

A few year later when Cumanus became procurator (48-52), a riot was caused over the issue of the *sanctity of the Temple* when a Roman guard who was posted at the Temple during Passover made an obscene gesture to the pilgrims. Josephus reports that the turmoil resulted in 20,000 deaths.²² Also during this time, conflict erupted regarding the *honor of the Torah*. A Roman soldier, part of the troops extracting revenge on villages suspected to have cooperated in the robbery and murder of a Roman envoy, publicly destroyed a Torah scroll. A major incident was averted only when Cumanus ordered the execution of the soldier. Josephus mentions yet another incident when Cumanus was procurator. An uproar involving both Galilean and Judean Jews was caused by a clash during a pilgrimage between Jews and Samaritans, indicating that the issues of *ethnicity* and territorial boundaries were never far from the surface.²³ Thus, in the four years of Cumanus' procuratorship, Josephus reports three major national incidences, where Jewish unrest was triggered over issues which combined ethnicity and religious zeal.²⁴ It should also be remembered that during this time period, Eleazar continued to lead the "social bandits," as he had for two decades. To this was added the economic hardships caused by the famine and Roman taxation.²⁵ Galatians was written either sometime towards the end of Cumanus' procuratorship, or in the initial years after Felix (52-60) had assumed office.

²¹*Ant.* 15.403f, 18.90ff. *Ant.* 20.6-14 contains Claudius' ruling on behalf of the Jews. See Hengel, *Zealots*, 344-5, Mendels, 299.

²²*Ant.* 20.108, *War* 2.224-227.

²³*Ant.* 20.118, *War* 2.243-244 (where the figure given is "upward of 30,000"). For the ethnic hostility between the Jews and Samaritans, based on long standing territorial disputes and the rivalry between Jerusalem and Shechem, see Mendels, 95-6, 294-300.

²⁴Sanders' desire to treat the incidences of civil unrest as episodic in nature (*Judaism*, 35-43) does perhaps hold true in considering events before the death of Agrippa. But at least during the time of Cumanus, when Josephus reports three major events in about four years time, one can conclude that nationalism and zeal for the Law had risen to a level of more consistent prominence and intensified feelings.

²⁵See Horsley, *Bandits*, 52-68, Hengel, *Zealots*, 345-6. Sanders, *Judaism*, 157-169 has criticized the degree of taxation Horsley and others have suggested were imposed. However, without doubt, the famine caused enormous hardship on all in Palestine, beginning with the poorest.

Nationalistic revolt intensified when Felix (52-60) assumed the procuratorship from the deposed Cumanus. Josephus seems to signal a degree of change in events of this period. During the time of Cumanus, Jewish unrest seemed to be reactions to situations. However, during the time of Felix, events occurred which reflected more deliberate and active resistance against Roman rule (and those Jews thought to be their representatives). Josephus reports that more and more "prophets" appeared on the scene, stirring up the population with an enthusiastic expectation of the end of Roman dominion and the establishment of the eschatological kingdom. They led groups into the wilderness, the most notable example being an Egyptian prophet who according to Josephus led 30,000 people into the wilderness to participate in a miraculously assisted assault to liberate Jerusalem. Many of his followers were slain by troops sent out by Felix.²⁶

Alongside these who expected miraculous acts of salvation, many continued their attempts to initiate deliverance through their own actions. Felix's capture of Eleazar, the leader of the "bandits," seemed to open the way for an even more violent and dramatic expression of revolt, the rise to prominence of the Sicarii. The Sicarii were a continuation of Maccabean "zeal for the Law" and the Fourth Philosophy's nationalistic commitment to freedom in spite of great personal cost.²⁷ In a similar way to the millenarian prophets, they combined a strict observance of the Law with the hope of the imminent inbreaking of the

²⁶*War* 2.261-263, *Ant.* 20.167-171. Compare Acts 21:38, where Paul is mistaken for this Egyptian and where the number of his followers is given at 4,000. The statement in Acts that the followers of the Egyptian were Sicarii is not as incredible as some believe, given the link between the Sicarii and Egypt (*War* 7.410-437, see Hengel, *Zealots*, 48-49) and the cooperation between the Sicarii and the prophets (*War* 2.264-5). These prophet-inspired journeys into the desert continued under Festus (*Ant.* 20.188), and were not confined to Palestine, as the story of Jonathan the Weaver in Cyrene indicates (*War* 7.437ff).

As Schwartz, "Temple and Desert," 33-43 argues by analogy with the Qumran community, the flight into the desert in order to experience a revelation of God could be caused by a critique of the Temple, now considered too polluted to be a source of revelation.

²⁷Compare *War* 2.118 and 7.323, 341ff. See T. Rajak, *Josephus. The Historian and His Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 88. Both groups emerged during the tax census of 6 CE. *War* 7.254 reports: "...when Quirinius was sent as censor to Judea. For in those days (τότε γὰρ) the Sicarii clubbed together..." Josephus must have intended to document their emergence to prominence in the early 50's when in *War* 2.254-56 he calls them "a new species of bandits." See Hengel, *Zealots*, 49, Smith, "Zealots and Sicarii," 10-11 n. 58, and Zeitlin, "Zealots and Sicarii," 396. Especially important is the strong hereditary link in the leadership of the Fourth Philosophy and the Sicarii: Menahem, son (or grandson) of Judas the Galilean lead the Sicarii during the early part of the revolt of 66-70. After his assassinations, another descendant of Judas, Eleazar ben Jair, assumed leadership of the group.

eschatological kingdom of God.²⁸ However, what set the Sicarii apart from previous liberation movements such as the Fourth Philosophy was the intensity on which they focused on a zealot approach to purity "within the camp" as a means of resisting outside political forces. While keeping the claim that Israel should have "no ruler but God" like Judas, the emphasis in their "zeal" was to attack those *within* Israel considered disloyal to the covenant. Josephus notes regarding the Sicarii in *War* 7.262ff:

The Sicarii were *the first* to set the example of this lawlessness and cruelty to their kinsmen.²⁹

Carrying concealed daggers which resembled the Roman *sicae* (hence their name), the Sicarii would carry out political assassinations in public places.³⁰

When they [the social bandits led by Eleazar] had been cleared from the countryside, a different type of bandit sprang up in Jerusalem, known as *sicarii*. This group murdered people in broad daylight right in the middle of the city. Mixing with the crowds, especially during the festivals, they would conceal small daggers beneath their garments and stealthily stab their opponents. Then, when their victims fell, the murderers simply melted into the outraged crowds, undetected because of the naturalness of their presence. The first to have his throat cut was Jonathan the High Priest, and after him many were murdered daily. The fear of attack was worse than the crimes themselves, just as in a war when one expects death at any moment. Men watched their enemies from a distance, and not even approaching friends were trusted. But despite their suspicions and precautions they were laid waste, so suddenly did the conspirators strike and skillfully avoid detection.³¹

The ongoing assassinations (even if Josephus exaggerates them as being "daily") accomplished their designed results: creating an general atmosphere of destabilization within

²⁸In regards to the Law, it is likely that because they stood in continuity with the Fourth Philosophy, they would have continued to share a fundamental agreement with Pharisaic theology. See *Ant.* 18.23-24 (a correction of Josephus' claim in *War* 2.118) for the similarity between the Fourth Philosophy and the Pharisees (whose scrupulousness for the Law is noted in *Ant.* 18.12). This alignment with the Pharisees is further attested because the school was founded by Judas "in league with the Pharisee Saddok."

F. F. Bruce, *NT History* (New York: Doubleday, 1969) 96, 100 notes that the excavations of Masada show the Sicarii to have been "scrupulously observant Jews." For the baths they constructed for ceremonial washing, see Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 164ff.

For their approach to death as martyrdom, see *War* 7.418-19; compare this to a similar description of Judas the Galilean in *Ant.* 18.23-24.

²⁹Compare *m. Sanh* 9.6, which recalled the zealot idea towards those who violated the covenant: "If a man stole a sacred vessel or cursed by Kosem or made an Aramean woman his paramour, the zealots may fall upon him. If a priest served in a state of uncleanness his brethren the priests did not bring him to the court, but the young men among the priests took him outside the Temple Court and split open his brain with clubs" (Danby).

³⁰See *Ant.* 20.186. For a general summary of the Sicarii, see O. Betz, "σικάριος," *TDNT* 7.278-282.

³¹*War* 2.254-257. Trans. Horsley, *Bandit*, 200, 208. Compare *Ant.* 20.164-166.

the city, and engendering mutual fear, suspicion and distrust among all. Josephus points to the sense of vulnerability caused by these attacks in broad daylight by assassins who could escape detection before and after the events. He also mentions that the Sicarii employed a "kidnap for ransom" tactic common to terrorists.³² Mendels attributes the rise of armed zealot groups to the lost sense of identity cause by the death of Agrippa and the dispersal of the army.

Thus, together with other symbols of political nationalism, the army was dispersed once and for all. This frustration, one can assume, caused the energy of thousands of Jews to be directed into the framework of terrorist groups such as the so-called *lestai*, as well as the Sicarii, Zealots, and later in 66 CE the Jewish national army.³³

Before long, the "prophets" and the Sicarii united their efforts, and together, spread the passion for independence throughout the nation. They murdered wealthy landowners, destroyed their property and fired surrounding villages. The purpose of their actions was political, and continued to incite the wider population towards full scale war. Josephus emphasizes the threatening message issued against those suspected not only of cooperating, but even passively accepting, Roman domination.³⁴

The sense of apocalyptic frenzy induced by the millenarian "prophets," the selective assassinations and murders, the kidnappings, and the destruction of villages, all combined to create an atmosphere of general destabilization in Jerusalem and the Judean countryside as a whole, creating an environment of suspicion and fear, and forcing to an open choice those who, in allegiance to the Torah, would align themselves with the nationalistic cause and those who sought refuge in allegiance to Rome.³⁵

Although Josephus dates the re-emergence of the Sicarii to the first part of Felix's procuratorship (beginning in 52), and the events described above most likely took place in the decade preceding the Great War (well after the writings of Galatians), the Sicarii first

³²*Ant.* 20.208-209 - kidnapped various members of the high priest Ananias' household for the purpose of exchanging them for imprisoned Sicarii.

³³Mendels, 346-7; see also 356-7.

³⁴*War* 2.264-265, *Ant.* 20.172, compare 20.187-188, which makes it clear that this is a reference to the Sicarii. See Horsley, *Bandit*, 242 n. 12.

³⁵Rajak, 83 notes that out of all the areas in which Josephus denounces the rebels, the forcing of compliance towards their own agenda by the zealot groups is "the most crucial to the argument of the *Jewish War* as a whole."

emerged during the time of Judas the Galilean (4 CE).³⁶ Furthermore, while Josephus notes the increasing influence of millenarian prophets with the installation of Felix, he also notes a similar event during the time of Fadus (44-46). Theudas, a self-declared prophet, led a multitude of Jews into the wilderness. He claimed that the Jordan would part at his command in what seems to have been a prophetic sign of his divine commission as a new Joshua to conquer the Land and usher in the eschaton. Fadus, perceiving this action as hostile to Rome, sent out his calvary who slew Theudas and many of his followers.³⁷ Thus, we can safely assume some level of activity of the Sicarii³⁸ and the millenarian prophets in the period between the death of Agrippa and the procuratorship of Felix, although in a less pronounced way than would later be the case under Felix. Thus, given the events during the time of Cumanus, and gathering additional support from the likely pre-history of those involved in the religious-political movements from the time of Felix, it can be concluded that it was during a period of intensified expressions of Jewish nationalistic feelings that the Pauline mission to the Gentiles gained its full momentum and that the crisis in Galatia occurred.

3.2 Rising Jewish Nationalism and the "Crisis in Galatia"

The intensification of Jewish nationalistic fervor after the death of Agrippa, seen particularly in the unrest beginning in the time of Cumanus and continuing through the procuratorship of Felix, would seem to be at least partially responsible for a crisis of persecution in the Jerusalem church around the early 50's.³⁹ As 1 Thess 2:14-16 indicates,

³⁶See note 27 above.

³⁷*Ant.* 20.92-99, compare Acts 5:36. See Schürer, 1.456.

³⁸It is very unlikely that they just "appeared" on the scene fully organized in the mid-fifties.

³⁹R. Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation," *NTS* 17 (1970-71) 198-211 sought to establish a link between this nationalistic activity in Palestine and the problem in Galatia. In his opinion, Judean Jewish-Christians felt themselves endangered by expressions of radical Jewish nationalism, particularly through an association that could be drawn between them and Paul's Law-free gospel to the Gentiles. Jewett summarizes his basic premise as follows on p. 205:

My hypothesis therefore is that Jewish Christians in Judea were stimulated by Zealotic pressure into a nomistic campaign among their fellow Christians in the late forties and early fifties. Their goal was to avert the suspicion that they were in communion with lawless Gentiles. It appears that the Judean Christians convinced themselves that circumcision of Gentile Christians would thwart Zealot reprisals.

The strength of Jewett's hypothesis is that, as asserted by W. D. Davies, "Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia," in *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 184,

the churches of Judea were experiencing great persecution from their fellow countrymen during the procuratorship of Cumanus, years which coincide with major incidences of Jewish social unrest reviewed above.⁴⁰ Judean Christians had already been persecuted by Herod Agrippa (Acts 12 - the death of James, the imprisonment of Peter) very probably because he perceived the evangelistic efforts of Jewish Christians among non-Jews to be threatening the delicate peace which was based upon the normal separation of these two groups.⁴¹ Note the question raised by "οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς" upon Peter's return from Cornelius' house had not to do with conversion, but with a "boundary-marker issue," table-fellowship (Acts 11:2-3, "Why did you go to uncircumcised men and eat with them?") The Jerusalem church surely came under even closer scrutiny because of their association with Paul. In this period of nationalistic unrest and "zeal for the Law," the *Law-free* offer of Messianic salvation by Paul *to the Gentiles* would have encountered a harsh reaction among the various groups of nationalists in Palestine, and any Jews in Jerusalem which were implicated by association with the Pauline mission would be obvious targets for intra-Jewish

"We are driven back to that messianic-nationalist ferment within which the epistle emerged... and to some particularly fierce expression of it." He comments again on 183, "Two things in Jewett's work appeal to us: its specificity in meeting what seems to us to have been an unusually pointed crisis in the Galatian churches and its sensitivity to the fiery nationalist aspects of the period with which Christian messianism had to come to terms."

As noted, recent scholarship leads us to now speak of "zealot movements" instead of an all encompassing "Zealot" party. J. L. Martyn, "A Law-Observant Mission to Gentiles: The Background of Galatians," *SJT* 38 (1985) 307-324 postulates a similar mission, although he does not take into account nationalistic activity as the motivation.

⁴⁰F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 45; Waco: Word, 1982) 46, Jewett, "Agitators," 205, B. Reicke, "Der geschichtliche Hintergrund des Apostelkonzils und der Antiocheia-Episode, Gal. 2:1-14," in *Studia Paulina* (J. de Zwaan FS; ed. J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik; Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn N. V., 1953) 172-187, all attribute this persecution to the zealot activity during the reign of Cumanus. Reicke, 185, believes that the election of James the brother of Jesus to the leadership of the Jerusalem church was influenced by his acceptability to the nationalistic movements.

⁴¹Mendels, 236-7 n. 39, D.R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judea* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1990) 119-124 attributes Agrippa's actions to some conflict or disturbance between the leaders of the Jerusalem church and the state. This is why James is put to death "by the sword" - executed as a political criminal. However, from Luke's point of view, it cannot be an accident that the events in Acts which immediately precede Agrippa's persecution are the conversion of Cornelius and the apostolic conclusion ("Then to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life," 11:18), and the description of the church at Antioch, the initial base of the Gentile mission. P. Fredriksen, "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," *JTS* 42 (1991) 556-564 also emphasizes the social and political disturbances possibly caused in Jewish communities under Roman rule when the message of a "crucified Messiah" was combined with the belief in the eschatological inclusion of the Gentiles "without circumcision." She writes on 556: "The open dissemination of a Messianic message... put the entire Jewish community at risk."

persecution.⁴² Acts 21:20-21 reports that among the many Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, "all zealous for the Law," rumours had circulated that Paul was teaching Diaspora Jews to forsake the Torah, circumcision, and ancestral traditions.⁴³ Paul's writings show that he is aware of charges that he was preaching "lawlessness." A strong case can be made that the "Jews" who conspired to take Paul's life in Acts 23:12-22 were in fact Sicarii.⁴⁴

We examine below the general level of tolerance towards Gentiles who wanted to participate in synagogue life without becoming proselytes, particularly in the Diaspora. However, this tolerance was not shared by all in every situation. Hippolytus, writing after Josephus, recorded this in *Philosophumena*:

When a member of the second tendency hears that someone has been speaking about God and his laws, but is not circumcised, he lies in wait for him and when he finds him alone threatens him with death if he does not let himself be circumcised. If he does not obey, he is not spared, but killed. For the sake of this cause, they have assumed the name of Zealots. Many call them *Sicarii*.⁴⁵

Even if greatly exaggerated (although it is in keeping with Josephus' account of the measures the Sicarii were willing to take to insure "purity within the camp"), this tradition indicates that certain nationalistic factions, zealous for the Law, were remembered as insisting upon the circumcision of Gentiles who associated themselves with Judaism, the very issue at the heart of the letter to Galatians. Thus, if the opponents of Paul in Galatia were conservative representatives from the Jerusalem church, they indeed had a valid concern for their security should they be linked with Paul's Law-free gospel to the Gentiles by those in a quest for the freedom of Israel, a quest soon to be accomplished at all costs.

3.3 The Language and Themes of Galatians: Zeal, Freedom, Fear, Political and Military Terminology

Some of the broader theological themes in Galatians seem to point back to the nationalistic tensions in Palestine. The cluster of the terms ζηλόω and ζηλωτής in

⁴²See Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," 66.

⁴³Reicke, "Hintergrund," 185 also noted that the suspicious attitude of the Jerusalem community in Acts 21 (described as ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου) towards Paul and his mission is possibly linked to the increasing nationalistic feeling of that time.

⁴⁴Hengel, *Zealots*, 158 n. 70, 351, Jewett, "Agitators," 205 and J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969) 230.

⁴⁵Cited by Hengel, *Zealots*, 70-71. See his fuller discussion on "forced circumcision" on 197-8.

Galatians is striking. Although acknowledging that he himself while in Judaism was "extremely zealous (ζηλωτής) for the traditions of my fathers" (1:14), Paul charges his opponents, who presently held to what he once zealously believed, with the following (4:17-18):

ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς,
ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν,
ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε·
καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε
καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

They are zealous over you for no good purpose,
but wish to shut you out,
in order that you might be zealous over them.
It is always good when zeal is displayed in something good,
and not only when I am present with you.⁴⁶

The three-fold use of ζηλόω coupled with Paul's self reference to being "a zealot for the traditions of my fathers" makes it probable that even in the wider "friendship" context,⁴⁷ Paul is making reference to "characteristic Jewish 'zeal' to maintain and defend Jewish covenant prerogatives."⁴⁸ We noted above the importance of "zeal for the Law" in understanding the revolutionary movements in Palestine. Paul claims that the zeal expressed by his opponents towards the Galatians is founded upon hidden, unworthy motives.⁴⁹ A similar line of thought in Josephus is striking in its parallelism.

...the Zealots (τοῖς ζηλωταῖς); for so these miscreants called themselves, as though they were zealous (ζηλώσαντες) in the cause of virtue (ἀγαθοῖς) and not for vice in its basest (τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἔργων) and most extravagant form.⁵⁰

The contrast between freedom and slavery, though certainly of wider significance than a reference to the political atmosphere in Jerusalem, takes on an added irony if Paul's opponents are in some way affected by those involved in pursuing political independence for Israel. The freedom of the Jewish nation from Roman rule was a dominant theme in first

⁴⁶ET by Dunn, *Galatians*.

⁴⁷For the "courting" imagery, see Betz, *Galatians*, 229 and Bruce, *Galatians*, 211.

⁴⁸Dunn, *Galatians*, 237.

⁴⁹Compare his claim of properly motivated zealous allegiance in 2Cor 11:2, "ζηλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλω..."

⁵⁰*War* 4.160-161, trans. LCL. Compare *War* 7.256, 268-70, *Ant.* 18.7.

century Judaism. Josephus distinguishes the Fourth Philosophy by its "unconquerable passion for freedom (τοῦ ἐλευθέρου)." The initial resistance by Judas and Saddok the Pharisee began because "They said that such a tax assessment amounted to slavery, pure and simple, and urged the nation to claim its freedom."⁵¹ This same view of freedom and slavery is articulated in the two speeches of Eleazar ben Jair to the Sicarii at Masada.⁵² "Freedom" was inscribed on the coins minted by Jews during the Great War.⁵³ Paul makes freedom an idea disassociated from earthly citizenship (*in Christ*, there is no slave nor free - Gal 3:26-29). For him, a total and complete change in human society had already occurred through the eschatological new creation inaugurated by the Messiah (Gal 6:15). This change had occurred, not through being "a zealot for ancestral traditions," not through "works of Law," but through "the cross of Christ." According to Paul in the Hagar-Sarah allegory of Gal 4, those who place too great a significance upon national and ethnic identity are in slavery with their mother, the present Jerusalem. Compare this with the imagery of 1 Macc 2:7-12, recalling the words of Mattathias when the Jews were being forced to stop observing circumcision and food laws, and made to participate in idolatrous cults (1 Macc 1:54-64).

1 Macc 2:7-12

7 Wretched am I, why was I born to behold,
the dissolution of my people and the destruction of the holy city,
to sit idly by while it is given into the hand of its enemies,
the sanctuary into the hand of foreigners?

11 ... *Instead of a free woman, she has become a slave.*
12 Behold our sanctuary, and our beauty, and our glory
have been laid waste.
the Gentiles have profaned it.

Paul places Jerusalem in slavery not because of any political oppression, but because she exists in the era of bondage, on the side of the apocalyptic divide opposite from freedom in Christ.

A similar irony is present in Paul's charge to the Galatians: "For freedom Christ has set us free; ...do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (5:1). The yoke of slavery is

⁵¹Ant. 18.3-9, 23-25, translation Horsley, *Bandits*, 191-192.

⁵²War 7.320-388.

⁵³צִיּוֹן - freedom/deliverance of Zion. See H. Hamburger, "Money," *IDB* 3:434 for examples.

specifically life under the Torah and an identity which is oriented around the present Jerusalem. In contrast, the Maccabean purpose, which was rebirth in the rising tide of Jewish nationalism, was to set Israel free from "the yoke of the Gentiles" (1 Macc 13:41), free precisely to obey the precepts of the Torah and as the people of God to worship in Jerusalem without restraint.⁵⁴ Paul's preaching on freedom and slavery cuts sharply against the foundational ideas of Jews dedicated to nationalism and ethnic preservation.

Complimenting these broader themes, Galatians is *uniquely* marked by specific vocabulary drawn from military and political terminology.⁵⁵ Paul's description of his opponents in 5:12, "οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες," (the agitators, from ἀναστατόω) rings with the overtones of political agitation. This is the only occurrence of this political term in Paul's writings and refers to "rabble-rousers" who stir up dissent.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the only other occurrences of this word in the NT are in the book of Acts, both times referring to revolutionary political agitation against Rome. In Acts 17:6, Paul and his followers are portrayed to the civic authorities as οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες, messianic subversives within Judaism whose revolutionary cause is to proclaim Jesus as king instead of Caesar. Even more striking in regards to the background of Galatians is Acts 21:38, where Paul is mistaken for an Egyptian who instigated a revolt (ἀναστατώσας) involving 4,000 Sicarii, the very zealot group Josephus brings to the forefront in the years coterminous with the writing of Galatians.⁵⁷

Paul uses other terms for political agitators to describe his opponents, the occurrences of these terms similarly unique to Galatians among all of Paul's writings. He calls his opponents in Gal 1:7 οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς (the ones disturbing you), and in the singular in 5:10 ὁ...ταράσσων ὑμᾶς. As Betz notes, "ταράσσειν describes the destructive

⁵⁴See Dunn, *Galatians*, 263.

⁵⁵Noted often by Betz in his commentary. See Davies, "Galatians," 362 n. 11 for a partial list drawn from Betz's commentary.

⁵⁶Betz, *Galatians*, 270. Note that Betz dismisses Jewett's thesis on 6 n. 31.

⁵⁷Bruce, *Galatians*, 238, and F. F. Bruce, *Acts* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 344. Compare Josephus' report in *War* 2.261-3, *Ant.* 20.171, discussed above.

work of political agitators who cause confusion and turmoil."⁵⁸ Furthermore, the purpose of the agitators is to "turn things upside down" (μεταστρέφω, 1:7). This word too was "originally political and suggests revolutionary activities."⁵⁹

Paul's choice of language to describe events at the council of Jerusalem is similarly unique in appropriating military and political terminology. In his portrayal of certain false brethren at Jerusalem, it is impossible to overlook the references to covert tactics: they are "secretly smuggled in" (παρεισάκτοι), they "sneak in" (παρεισέρχεσθαι), and are actively "spying out" (κατασκοπεῖν) with the goal to rob Paul and his followers of their freedom (Gal 2:4).⁶⁰ All three terms are *hapax legomena* in the Pauline literature. Such covert tactics would become the trademark approach to resistance by groups such as the Sicarii, and are common to all resistance movements opposing an enemy which outnumbers them in personnel and resources.

The council of Jerusalem introduces the theme of "fear as motivation" in Galatians. In both incidents described in Galatians 2, Paul paints a picture of initial harmony which is then threatened not by a "theological difference" but by fear and coercion. This theme is first addressed in Paul's description of his meeting with James, John and Cephas in Jerusalem. After Paul had "laid before them...the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles" (2:2), the leadership of the Jerusalem church had recognized Paul's apostolic commission to the Gentiles ("they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised," "they perceived the grace that was given to me," 2:7, 9) and offered to Paul and Barnabas their affirmation (they gave to Paul and Barnabas "the right hand of fellowship," 2:9), the mutual agreement being a division of responsibility: "we to the Gentiles, they to the circumcised" (2:9). Throughout the section, although Paul is at pains to show that his commission and the gospel he preached is not derived from the "pillar apostles," he equally strives to show the mutuality of consent regarding both his message

⁵⁸Betz, *Galatians*, 49. The word is also used in Acts 17:8 in the Jason incident discussed above.

⁵⁹Betz, *Galatians*, 50, also Longenecker, *Galatians*, 16. The word has the overtone "to misrepresent," and is also an eschatological term - see Joel 3:4 (LXX)/Acts 2:20.

⁶⁰Betz, *Galatians*, 90. That they were attempting to compel Titus to be circumcised is widely agreed upon.

and mission among the Gentiles.⁶¹ In particular, Paul points out that in regards to the circumcision of Gentile converts, the leaders in Jerusalem showed their agreement with Paul because they did not compel Titus (a Greek) to be circumcised. The element of potential *discord in the midst of the accord* between Paul and the leadership of the Jerusalem church is sown because of false brethren (ψευδᾶδελφοί), who as we saw above, were "smuggled in," "infiltrating" the accord in order to "spy out" Paul's freedom. The potential for conflict between Paul and the Judean Christians was not caused by Paul's gospel, about which both parties stood in agreement, but by strong pressure applied by false brethren who had entered under false pretense.

Similarly, Paul describes the events at Antioch using military and political terminology. The word used for Cephas' "withdrawal," ὑποστέλλω (2:12), another *hapax legomenon* in Paul's writings, is "a description of military and political maneuvers of retreating to an inconspicuous or sheltered position."⁶² The result of Peter's "tactical retreat" was the rest of the Jewish Christians were "συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ," and even Barnabas συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει (2:13). Both συνυποκρίνομαι and ὑποκρίσις are *hapax legomona* in the uncontested writings of Paul, and are drawn from the political arena, indicating putting on a disguise, the adapting and assuming of a character for the sake of convenience.⁶³

The theme of harmony disrupted by fear and coercion is also repeated in Paul's description of the incident at Antioch. Once again, Paul establishes the agreement between himself and the other Jewish-Christians. Note particularly 2:15-16, where Paul states the common ground between him and Cephas: "*We ourselves*, who are Jews by birth and not

⁶¹As B. Holmberg, *Paul and Power* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 16 comments, "He is careful to point out to his opponents and detractors the incontrovertible fact that he was officially and irreversibly acknowledged by the Jerusalem 'pillars' as Apostle to the Gentiles, with a competence and a 'gospel' of his own (Gal 2:6-9). The dialectic between being independent of and being acknowledged by Jerusalem is the keynote of this important text and must not be forgotten."

⁶²Betz, *Galatians*, 108.

⁶³Polybius 3.31.7 (tr. W.R. Paton, LCL) "for all men are given to adapt themselves and assume a character suited to the times, so that from their words and actions it is difficult to judge of the principles of each, and in many cases the truth is quite overcast." Cited by Betz, *Galatians*, 109. Compare 1 Tim 4:2, the only other occurrence in literature related to Paul.

Gentile sinners, *we know* that no human being is justified by works of the law but only through faith in Christ Jesus..." In Gal 2:12-13, Paul states that Peter's withdrawal from table-fellowship with the Gentiles was not based upon a theological conviction of the truth (for they agree), but that he was φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, "fearing those of the circumcision" (2:12).⁶⁴ We discussed above the military background of the word "ὑποστέλλω." However, this action of "shrinking back in the face of pressure or persecution" is also the antithesis of "living by faith," according to Hab. 2:4, the verse Paul cites in Gal 3:12 as scriptural proof.

Hab 2:4 (LXX)

ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ·
ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

Like a fearful watchman leaving his post on the wall in face of the enemy onslaught (Hab 2:1) Peter "shrinks back" in assuming a posture that Gentiles must adopt Jewish practices to be included in the people of God. His fearful retreat behind the boundaries established by the Law is the opposite of maintaining covenantal righteousness.

Paul's seeming conscious selection of terms to fit the occasion gives support to the hypothesis that Jewish nationalistic activities form an important aspect of the background to Galatians. Not that Paul's opponents in Galatia were themselves politically oriented, but rather that Paul's use of language drew attention to the fact that their motives were influenced by nationalistic pressures in Jerusalem. Fear is precisely the sole motive that Paul charges is behind the actions of his opponents in Galatia. They seek to circumcise the Galatians in order to save themselves from persecution (6:12). Is it not possible that those who had infiltrated the Jerusalem church during Paul's visit, who attempted to compel Titus to be circumcised and who were fiercely resisted by Paul, had not been resisted to the same degree of success by James and were now exercising enough influence to cause a turnabout from the previous agreement between James and Paul struck in Jerusalem, with the result that envoys were sent out to signal this change of decision? As it could have been in

⁶⁴Compare Acts 15:1-5.

Jerusalem, and as it was in Antioch and Galatia, the impetus behind the threat to the Pauline mission was not only theological differences, but fear and coercion which masked themselves in the guise of covenantal loyalty, as zeal for the Law and zeal for Israel. At the time of the writing of Galatians, we see the emergence of resistance groups whose nationalism and zeal for the Law would lead them to not only resist those "outside the camp" but to focus their attention upon purity and loyalty "within the camp."

Thus, the number of military and political terms used in Galatians which are *hapax legomena* in Paul's writings, coupled with the application of wider theological ideas in a manner which seems specifically to cut against the grain of Jewish nationalism, makes it very plausible that Paul carefully chose his use of vocabulary in the Galatian letter to reflect the origin of the Galatian crisis: the nationalistic turmoil in Judea, manifested in zeal for the Law and revolutionary political activity. Is there an ironic reference to emerging Jewish resistant movements during the time of Cumanus and Felix in Gal 5:13b, which allowing a degree of latitude we can paraphrase as "Do not use this "call to freedom" as a base of operations (ἀφορμή) for the flesh"?⁶⁵ Paul's command is instead to, "Fall into line," "march in step" with the Spirit (5:25 - στοιχῶμεν).

3.4 Conclusion

Paul's choice of military and political terminology and the themes he develops in Galatians (freedom defined "in Christ," misdirected zeal, fear as motivation, being "compelled" to receive circumcision), together with our knowledge of the widespread nationalistic feeling in many Jews from 44 CE onward give us a plausible setting by which to understand the actions of Paul's opponents in Galatia. The intensification of turmoil in Judea over nationalistic and ethnocentric issues had brought the Jerusalem church under the scrutiny of those who associated them with reports of Paul teaching Gentiles that they were included in the people of God without needing to become Jewish proselytes. It was not

⁶⁵The general meaning "opportunity" is derived from the military origin of ἀφορμή as "base of operations, the starting point for military actions." Betz, *Galatians*, 272, Longenecker, *Galatians*, 239.

only Judaism as a system of religion which caused its clash with Pauline Christianity in Galatia. It was the manifested priorities of this era in Judaism, the quest for national independence, zeal for the Law, "purity within the camp," covenantal practice as ethnic distinctives, the heightening of the nationalistic and ethnocentric aspects inherent in Judaism, which Paul and the Gentile converts to his gospel encounter during the "crisis in Galatia." We will argue that Paul's use of images and ideas drawn from the creation story in Galatians is a central aspect of his theological response to this climate in the Judaism of his day: the social-political climate within Judaism which sought to preserve its national and ethnic heritage through a maintenance of its religious distinctives, a social-political climate where resistance and revolutionary activity sought to secure a national and ethnic future for Jews, where the conflict over religious beliefs was resulting in armed resistance and the persecution of those thought to be destroying the boundaries of the Covenant.

4. Ethnicity and Incorporation: Theological Nationalism and the Galatian Letter

To prepare for our examination of Paul's new creation theology in Galatians, we must first understand the radical nature of the phrase "for neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything, but a new creation." Thus, we set ourselves to briefly review both the integration and separation between Jew and Gentile. We approach this issue from the manner in which present and future inclusion of Gentiles into Judaism was depicted and understood.

4.1 Integration and Separation of Jews and Gentiles

Many of the *fundamental* beliefs of Judaism resulted in clear lines of distinction between Jews and Gentiles, distinctions acknowledged by both groups. Uncompromising monotheism made no allowance for the syncretistic tendencies of Hellenism.⁶⁶ The Law, like the concept of election, separated Israel unto God (in a mutually exclusive relationship)

⁶⁶See Dunn, *Partings*, 19-21, G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927-30) 1.360-3.

from among the nations. Thus, religious practice became at the same time cultural distinctives, expressing ethnicity and nationalism. Although many aspects of the Law overlapped with Hellenistic ideas, from the time of the Maccabean revolt it was the practices of Law which emphasized the separation of Judaism from its Hellenistic milieu which rose to prominence. It was the distinctive nature of circumcision, Jewish food laws, the Jewish cultic calendar and the observation of the Sabbath which caused these "works of the Law" to gain emphasis among the total range of "works of the Law" which were incorporated into the practice of Judaism. They were religious observances which served to establish Jewish ethnic and national identity: both in terms of self-identity and in the perception of others.⁶⁷

The overlap of religious faith and national identity is illustrated by the centrality of the Temple. It was a powerful symbol of Jewish identity as the people of God, for the Temple was the dwelling place of the shekinah and the altar maintained their status within the covenant people of God. The Temple treasury was the cornerstone for the national and local economy, and the Sanhedrin, which was strongly under the influence of the high priestly party, was the main local court in both civic and religious legislature.

The temple also drew a firm distinction between those who were members of the covenant and those who simply sought to pay homage to God (or the Jewish god). Gentiles were not allowed past the balustrade which demarcated the court of the Gentiles from the rest of the temple enclosure.⁶⁸ While they could offer gifts (including sacrificial animals) to the temple and the priesthood, Gentiles were not allowed to participate in any of the

⁶⁷Dunn, *Partings*, 31 puts it well, "...the importance of the law of Israel's self-understanding as the covenant people of God was bound to come to focus in those elements of the law which brought their sense of distinctiveness and separateness to most explicit and visible expression and which thus functioned for good or ill as test cases of loyalty to the covenant people and their God." For the significance of distinctively Jewish practice in maintaining Jewish identity in the Diaspora, see Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 43-46.

The debate over the Pharisees between Neusner and Sanders presents the scholar with numerous references to food laws and purity. See J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety* (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973) 78-90 and Sanders' extended response, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: 5 Studies* (Philadelphia: TPI, 1990), 131-254. Sanders, *Judaism*, 214-222 organizes the various laws in a helpful manner. See as well the extended discussion in Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 221-235, 254-258. On the significance of table-fellowship in the teachings of Jesus and in the Pauline mission, see Dunn, *JPL*, 37-88, 130-148, *Partings*, 107-113.

⁶⁸Gentile impurity was probably closely connected to their participation in idolatrous worship. Sanders, *Judaism*, 72-76.

obligatory sacrifices (sacrifices which maintained the covenant and covenantal status).⁶⁹ The fact that they could offer these gifts and only these gifts revealed that the demarcation between Jew and Gentile was maintained. They were free to offer sacrificial gifts in homage to the God of Israel, but this did not signify their incorporation into the people of God. Especially as we consider the conversion of the Gentiles in the end times, what is important is not that Gentiles would offer sacrifices (they already did, and did so for various reasons) but which sacrifices they would offer.

However, to point out the distinctive practices of Judaism does not mean that in general Jews were intolerant of Gentiles. Particularly in the Diaspora, many Jewish communities seemed to live with mutual tolerance and degrees of integration with the wider Gentile community. For instance, inscriptional evidence from Asia Minor has shown that some Jews were citizens and even city officers. In Sardis, the synagogue (post-200 CE) was a large structure which was a part of the gymnasium-bath complex in the market centre of the city. This reveals the wealth and influence of the Jewish community, as well as both the degree of integration and distinction maintained (next to the gymnasium, but an alternative to the gymnasium).⁷⁰ Sibylline Oracles 3 and 5, the Letter of Aristeas (discussed below) and the writings of Philo show a similar integration and distinction in Jewish communities in Egypt. Still, Diaspora Jews continued to participate in the Temple cult (through the Temple tax), refrain from idolatry, keep the Sabbath, observe food Laws, and circumcise their sons.⁷¹

The Letter of Aristeas provides a clear example of Jewish tolerance towards Gentiles.⁷² One of the central theological emphases of the writing is the belief that the one

⁶⁹D. Schwartz, "On Sacrifice by Gentiles in the Temple of Jerusalem," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992) 102-116. Schwartz deals very effectively with the material from Josephus, 2Macc 3:35 and 3Macc 1:9 which depicts foreign kings sacrificing in Jerusalem. His work invalidates the description by Schürer (cited by Schwartz) that "even the exclusive Temple of Jerusalem became cosmopolitan."

⁷⁰P. R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSM 69; Cambridge: CUP, 1991) 37-57, 167-182; see also S. McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991) 14-16.

⁷¹Trebilco, 12-19.

⁷²See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 165.

God who created all mankind demonstrates his philanthropy towards all humans created by him (v 16 - "These people worship God the overseer and creator of all, whom all men worship including ourselves, O King, except that we have a different name. Their name for him is Zeus and Jove," cf. 168-9, 190, 195, 201, 210, 254). There are verses which stress inward piety over religious rituals (vv 140, 234). Scholars have pointed out that although idolatry and immorality are inveighed against, the general tone is of an attempt to find common ground and appreciation between the cultures. Certainly, there is no active appeal for the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism.⁷³

At the same time, the extent to which the separation between Jews and Gentiles is maintained in this writing is equally notable, especially in the extensive treatment of the Jewish food laws. Although these food laws are recognized to be a central point of misunderstanding of Jews by Gentiles, their function (and practice) is vigorously defended by the writer.⁷⁴

In his wisdom the legislator, in a comprehensive survey of each particular part, and being endowed by God for the knowledge of universal truths, surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other people in any matter, being thus kept pure in body and soul, preserved from false beliefs, and worshipping the only God omnipotent over all creation (139).

Knowledge of "universal truths" is protected by the "iron wall" of laws which separate Jews from "mixing with any other people" (139). "He hedged us in on all sides with strict observances connected with meat and drink and touch and hearing and sight, after the manner of the Law" (142).⁷⁵ The cultural practices which keep Jews distinct from Gentiles were not an end in themselves, but a means of protecting through separation that which was

⁷³J. J. Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (ed. J. Neusner and E. S. Frerichs; Chico: Scholars, 1985) 166.

⁷⁴See v 128. When the entourage of 70 scholars dines with the King of Egypt, he notes "everything of which you partake will be served in compliance with your habits; it will be served to me as well as to you" (181). This care to observe Jewish customs is also explicitly noted in terms of their accommodations (182-4). Furthermore, Jewish food laws are shown to be allegories of moral truths (143-148, 165-166).

⁷⁵Phylacteries (158-9) and other matters of the Torah (158, 160) are also explained in similar fashion. Note also the honor accorded to the Temple in the description of the gifts donated to it by an Egyptian king (42, 51-82), fulfilling a basic idea of Gentile tribute in Zion theology, and the extensive description of the Temple which emphasizes its superiority to all other (83-120).

of chief importance, the revelation of the one true God and their fidelity to him. "This moreover explains why we are distinct from all other men" (151).

The Letter of Aristeas attempts to carefully balance the belief in one God who is the creator of all humanity, and the maintenance of the boundaries which by divine intention separate Jew from Gentile. The author seeks common ground, but defends the lack of common lifestyle. Even from a Hellenistic perspective and in Hellenistic terms, Judaism could be appreciated, if not admired. But from a Jewish perspective, the distinctions between Jew and Gentile needed to be maintained (and therefore explained). This separation was not the antithesis to peaceful coexistence, it was the requirement for it.⁷⁶

4.2 Proselytism and Ethnicity

Contrary to previously held assumptions, recent studies have shown that first century Judaism was not on the whole "a missionary religion." Even if some in Judaism anticipated the conversion of Gentiles in the eschatological age, in the present world Jews were not active in pursuing new converts, or making "full converts" out of those who expressed a degree of interest. To summarize the findings of McKnight, Jews were much more "a light among the Gentiles" than actively "a light to the Gentiles."⁷⁷

However, evidence is plentiful that Judaism did prove attractive to many Gentiles.⁷⁸ Gentiles who participated in Judaism and synagogue life could do so with a wide range in the level of commitment to the faith. Particularly in Diaspora communities, it seems that on the whole Jews were happy to open their synagogues to sympathetic Gentiles without demanding a high level of adherence or insisting on full conversion. The former scholarly interpretation of "god-fearers" has given way to a more fluid understanding: "God-fearers" or "God-worshippers" were much less a specific "class" as much as a more general,

⁷⁶For a wider study on "integration and resistance" tendencies in Jews relationship to Gentiles, see McKnight, 12-25, J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroads, 1986) 8-16. Regarding the diversity in the "real-life situation" of the table-fellowship of Jews and Gentiles, see Dunn, *Galatians*, 119-20 and the bibliography he cites.

⁷⁷McKnight, 117, the conclusion also reached by Fredriksen, "Judaism," 537-540.

⁷⁸One of the fundamental conclusions of Trebilco's study. See Dunn, *Partings*, 125 for supportive bibliography.

descriptive term for Gentiles who showed an interest in Judaism and participated in the Jewish community, whether in a cursory or dedicated fashion.⁷⁹

For heuristic purposes, Cohen has formulated seven categories of Gentile adherence to Judaism within the context of three larger categories to illustrate the spectrum of Gentile involvement.⁸⁰

A. Sympathizer

1. Admiring some aspect of Judaism.⁸¹
2. Acknowledging the power (but not exclusive power) of the god of the Jews, or incorporating him into the pagan pantheon.
3. Benefiting the Jews or being conspicuously friendly to Jews.

B. Adherent⁸²

4. Practising some or many of the rituals of the Jews.⁸³
5. Venerating the god of the Jews and denying or ignoring the pagan gods.
6. Joining the Jewish community.
 - A. Conversion of households (which resulted from individual conversions).
 - B. Gentile slaves acquired by Jews.
 - C. Marriage to a Jewish man.

⁷⁹S. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82 (1989) 32. J.J. Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 182-3 critiques Kuhn-Stegemann in Pauly-Wissowa and concludes that the "terminology, then, shows some fluctuation. *Phoboumenoi*, *sebomenoi* and *theosebeis* can all on occasion refer to Gentiles who are associated with Judaism in some way, but none of these terms is unequivocal, and each occurrence must be interpreted in its own context." See also the questions raised by A. T. Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the God-fearers," *Numen* 28 (1981) 113-26. A. F. Segal, "The Costs of Proselytism and Conversion," *SBL 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. D.J. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988) 350-353 still attaches a special technical meaning to the term "god-fearer," arguing that Jews accepted this category which stopped short of becoming a proselyte because it reduced the threat against the Jewish community by those who opposed them actively seeking to convert Gentiles, but his evidence for this kind of "mission" is questionable.

A recent inscription from Aphrodisias indicates that some "venerators of God" seemed to attain some status of belonging to the Jewish community, but which was below the level of "Jews by birth." See Trebilco, 145-166, for an overview of the use of the term was used in the Diaspora.

⁸⁰Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary," 14-30. He reviews in detail the literary evidence which illustrates the spectrum of adherence.

⁸¹Josephus, *Ap.* 2.123, 209-210, 280-3, Philo, *Mos* 2.17-20.

⁸²Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary," 31 summarizes this widely used term as follows: One who "accepted a new system of ritual and belief as a useful supplement to, and not as a substitute for, his old way of life." He is adopting the category of "adhesion" developed by A.D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London: OUP, 1933) 6-7.

⁸³In Rome, in the latter half of the first century BCE and throughout the first century CE, a significant number of pagans observed the Sabbath by lighting lamps and fasting. See Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 170, and E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 128-42, 174-180, 202-245, Segal, "Costs," 345-346, for evidence that the alarming growth in appreciation of Jewish life led at least one time to their expulsion by Roman authorities. Seneca wrote: "the customs of this accursed race have gained such influence that they are now received throughout the world. The vanquished have given laws to their victors," cited in Stern, *Authors*, no.186. Philo describes the synagogues in terms of schools of philosophy open to all (*Spec. Leg.* 2.62), and Josephus' description of the attraction of Gentiles to the Jewish community in Antioch has often been noted.

C. Convert

7. Converting to Judaism and "becoming a Jew."

- A. Practise of the Jewish laws (particularly circumcision).
- B. Exclusive devotion to the Jewish god.
- C. Full integration into the Jewish community.

The existence of this range of sympathy and adherence reveals the remarkably tolerant attitude of Diaspora Jews towards Gentiles who desired on one level or another to associate with Jews or practise their customs. To Gentiles who were attracted to Jewish life and faith, and there were many who were and at varying levels of interest, most of the evidence reveals a welcoming and tolerant attitude by Jewish communities.

Even with the range of adherence, the step to full conversion was a distinct and deliberate step. Judith 14:10 illustrates the central aspects of becoming a proselyte. The conversion of Achior the Ammonite is described as follows: "he believed firmly in God, and was circumcised, and joined the house of Israel, remaining so to this day." Proselytes were to turn from idolatry and embrace an exclusive monotheism, observe the Law, particularly circumcision, and integrate themselves into Jewish society.⁸⁴

Circumcision was seen by Jews and Gentiles alike as the distinctive mark of becoming a Jew.⁸⁵ The well known story told by Josephus of the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene illustrates the range of adherence tolerated, but that circumcision was the expected final step to full conversion.⁸⁶ Izates initially decided not to undergo circumcision so that his subjects would not consider him to be a Jew, to have changed national and ethnic loyalties. Ananias considered this an omission which God would pardon - but an omission

⁸⁴According to Rabbinic tradition, proselytes were expected to fully adhere to all aspects of the Torah (like a righteous native born Jew). Care was taken to fully acquaint the convert with the stipulations of the Law. Entry rites certainly included circumcision, with other Rabbinic passages calling for ritual bath/immersion and the presentation of an offering at the Temple. See T. Demai 2.5, Sifra Qedoshim 8.3. See E. P. Sanders, *PPJ*, 206-207, 211, Segal, "Costs," 360, Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 171 and Moore 1.331.

According to R. Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 65-74, commitment involves three aspects: "members become committed to the community's work, to its values and to each other." This communal (versus individualistic) aspect of "commitment" is fundamental to "conversion" to Judaism.

⁸⁵Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5.2, Juvenal, *Satires* 14.96-106. See Fredriksen, "Judaism," 535-537, with extensive bibliography, Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 163, also 172-4. See also Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary," 27, who remains unconvinced by arguments that in some instances proselytes were allowed to remain uncircumcised.

⁸⁶Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 179, Segal, "Cost," 357.

none the less.⁸⁷ Blessing came upon Izates when he finally underwent the ritual and became a "genuine Jew" (βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, *Ant.* 20.38). The story emphasizes that circumcision was a sign understood by Gentiles indicating that the convert was not simply giving allegiance to a religion but also transferring allegiance to another people. And in its own way, it indicates that although it could be said that devotion "counted more" than circumcision, (*Ant.* 20.41), full obedience to the Torah included circumcision.

Studies on Gentile adherence to Judaism have rightly emphasized the social impact which resulted from "full conversion."⁸⁸ In fact, it was the aspect of living life together under the special Laws of Judaism, more than any entry rite, which integrated the convert into Judaism.⁸⁹ "Joining Judaism was primarily a decision to join another *ethnos*, which was not self-evidently possible to everyone, never taken lightly, and often viewed with some suspicion."⁹⁰ The proselyte would be integrated into the life of the Jewish community: synagogue membership, table-fellowship and participation in sacred meals, the solving of legal problems within the authority of the community, and the expectation to contribute to the support of the temple and the Land. "In sum, the proselyte was just like the native born."⁹¹

Furthermore, to *Judaize* meant not only to be incorporated and enculturated into the Jewish community, it essentially "denationalized" the convert from his/her culture of origin due to the commands and prohibitions of the Torah.⁹² Doing what the Law commanded and obeying its prohibitions not only impacted moral decisions but cultural identity. Monotheism (and the corresponding prohibition of idolatry) forbade the worship of other deities, and in cutting the new convert off from participating in the Gentile cults also

⁸⁷Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 163, 178-9. See also Segal, "Costs," 357.

⁸⁸*Inter alia*, Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 175.

⁸⁹Segal, "Costs," 359, also 360.

⁹⁰Segal, "Costs," 346. "Most Gentiles who converted to Judaism had to reconstrue a whole world scheme."

⁹¹Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary," 28, citing Philo.

⁹²Moore 1:232, also 1:328. "The Greek term *Ioudaios* (Ἰουδαῖος)...basically meant "Judean," and thus retained more geographical and national connotations than is true of the word "Jew" in modern languages," Segal, "Costs," 347. See also Dunn, *Partings*, 145.

separated the proselyte from the social and civil life which revolved around these cults.⁹³ Dietary Laws made table-fellowship, a primary opportunity for social interaction, awkward and difficult. Sabbath keeping and the use of a different calendar than the Romans likewise clashed with social order in the Diaspora. Finally, circumcision was abhorred by most Gentiles and it should also not be forgotten that it was a dangerous medical procedure for proselytes to undergo.⁹⁴

In the final analysis, to convert to the faith of Judaism was the same as being incorporated into the ethnic and social reality of being a Jew. Observance of the Law included the proselyte in the mainstream of Jewish life and forced him to "separate from the Gentiles." As Philo wrote: "they have left their country, their kinsfolk and their friends for the sake of virtue and religion. Let them not be denied another citizenship or other ties of family and friendship."⁹⁵

Gentiles showing curiosity in Judaism, or desiring to include homage to the Jewish deity within the scope of their religious piety, or attracted by aspects of Jewish community life were welcomed to participate in synagogue life at a level of adherence chosen seemingly *on their own terms*. But to move from the broad and tolerant spectrum of adherence to being incorporated in the covenantal people of God was a decisive step taken *on Jewish terms*. As we shall see, this clarification between tolerance and "crossing the boundary," between integration and separation, informs many of the conflicts experienced by the Pauline mission to the Gentiles, and particularly the issues in Galatians.

4.3 The Eschatological "Conversion" of the Gentiles?

We have seen throughout our investigation into the apocalyptic and wisdom literature numerous depictions of the end of times which describe Gentiles coming to Zion to offer tribute and homage to Yahweh.⁹⁶ We have emphasized that this universalism is a form of

⁹³"Practical monotheism, with its social consequences, was a more significant dividing line between Jew and Gentile than an individual ritual such as circumcision." Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 176.

⁹⁴See Trebilco, 154.

⁹⁵*Spec Leg.* 1.52, cf. 1.308-309; also *Virt* 103, 104.

⁹⁶As we saw in our overview of Zion theology, the pilgrimage of the nations is related to the idea of *Völkerkampf* (the defeat of hostile nations gathered against Zion) which itself is a historicalizing of the

nationalism. *Paying homage to another nation's God/gods was a sign of submission both to the national deity and the nation itself.* In *Völkerfahrt* tradition, the nations bow before the God of Israel. The "homage" of the Gentiles in the end times does not necessarily indicate their "incorporation" into the people of God, any more than did sacrifices in the present age in the Temple by Gentiles.⁹⁷

As we have surveyed earlier, there are certainly some texts in the OT which indicated a "conversion of Gentiles" at Zion in the end times.⁹⁸ The question we raise is not whether some in Judaism expected Gentiles to experience salvation in the eschaton (some certainly did), but what were the precursors and preconditions for this blessing on the Gentiles. Did the "rules of incorporation" change because of the eschaton? Particularly, after the issue of Jewish "identity" was challenged by Hellenism, and after Jewish independence had been won and lost, how did these social crisis affect the interpretation of the OT hope? Furthermore, in speaking of the eschatological "conversion" of the Gentiles it is essential that one understands the range of adherence which scholars have included under this blanket term. For instance, McKnight first states that "a universal conviction of Judaism is that conversion is total conversion," that converts "live according to the same laws and obey the same customs." Then, in the very next paragraph, McKnight writes: "there will be a massive conversion of Gentiles at the Last Day," and cites Tobit 13:11, Sir 36:11-17, 1En 48:4, Sib Or 5:493-500, 2Bar 68:5, and 4Ez 6:26 as proof of the expectation.⁹⁹ Similarly, while recognizing that the subjugation and judgment of the Gentiles is a frequent eschatological theme, Donaldson states that "just as often... the Gentiles are depicted positively as sharing with Israel in eschatological blessing" and cites as proof from the intertestamental period

fundamental creation story *Chaoskampf*. In the OT, examples include Isa 56:7, Ps 22:27, Isa 2:2-3; 56:6-8, Zeph 3:9-10, and additional listings in E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985) 213-8. For Jesus and Gentile conversions, see Mt 8:11-12/Luke 13:28-9, Mark 11:16-17, 12:9.

⁹⁷A point we attempted to make clear in our review of Isa 45:14.

⁹⁸*Inter alia*, Isa 2:2/Mic 4:1f; Isa 25:6-10a, 56:6-8, Zech 8:20-23.

⁹⁹He also notes Philo *Praem* 164-72 and *Mos* 2.43-44. However, neither of these indicate "conversion and incorporation." *Praem* 164-72 describes the future return to Israel of the dispersed, and notes in some Gentiles a sense of regret (among those "who have not come to utter destruction") at having misinterpreted the misfortunes of Israel. *Mos* 2.43-44 conjectures that if Israel's present status was better, other nations could be attracted to Judaism and come to fully appreciate the Law.

Tobit 13:11, 14:5-7, 1En 90:30-33, Sib Or 3:710-23, 772-76.¹⁰⁰ However, a closer look at these references reveals that frequently the homage given is a sign of destruction, not "conversion," and in the texts which speak of salvation offered to Gentiles in the most comparatively positive terms, it is always *subsequent* to their judgment and Israel's vindication and exaltation.¹⁰¹

Sir 36:17, which ends with this phrase "and all who are on the earth will know that Thou art the Lord, the God of the ages," is often cited as illustrating the conversion of the Gentiles. But taken in context, not as proof-text, this phrase in Sir 36 cannot be understood as "conversion" in any formal sense. Rather, it is homage associated particularly with fear of judgment, a reflection of the submission of the Gentiles. The prayer opens with the plea, "cause the fear of thee to fall upon all the nations, Lift up thy hand against foreign nations and let them see thy might" (36:1-2). It continues with the plea for God to "rouse his anger," consume the enemies of his people, and "crush the heads of the rulers of the enemy." The central theme of the passage is found in vv 11-16, a prayer for the regathering and restoration of Israel.

1 Enoch 48:4 describes the Son of Man/Messiah in terms of the Servant of Yahweh, "He is the light of the Gentiles," and verse 5 describes the universal homage given to God, "All those who dwell upon the earth shall fall and worship before him; they shall glorify, bless and sing the name of the Lord of the Spirits." But is this homage or salvation? A few verse later, the destruction of the Gentile kings is depicted, in analogy with Israel's deliverance in the Exodus.¹⁰²

(8) In those day, the kings of the earth and the strong ones by whom the land is possessed shall be humiliated on account of the deeds of their hands...
 (9) I shall deliver them into the hands of my elect ones like grass in the fire and like lead in the water, so they shall burn before the face of the holy ones and sink before their sight, and no place will be found for them.

¹⁰⁰Donaldson, "Galatians 3:13-14," 99. He also includes LXX Isa 54:15; LXX Amos 9:12, both which do seem to indicate a universalizing of the Hebrew text.

¹⁰¹Many eschatological texts speak only of the destruction of the Gentiles without mention of possible conversion (Dan 7, Jub 24:27-33, the War Scroll, particularly the Zion songs 1QM 12, 19, TMos 10:1-10).

¹⁰²D. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula: Scholars, 1979) 112-113.

The theme of the judgment of the Gentiles is developed in 1En 53. Although all who dwell upon the earth shall bring gifts and tributes to the Lord of Spirits, he is not appeased, but instead destroys all the sinners, shackling all the Gentile kings for destruction with "all the chains of Satan" (53:3-5, 54:1-6).¹⁰³ Again, homage does not equal salvation. God's restoration of the "house of his congregation" is at the centre of these events (53:6-7). As Suter points out, the central motif in the Similitudes is the triumph of the Son of Man over the kings and the mighty, earthly representatives of Asael and the fallen angelic powers. Written from a Palestinian perspective, the parables link together political and cosmic evil, both to be destroyed as Israel is vindicated.¹⁰⁴

Although Psalms of Solomon 17:31 is another text cited in support of the "conversion of the Gentiles," a look at the context of the verse reveals the thinking of a very conservative and nationalistic stream within Judaism.¹⁰⁵

PssSol 17:22-31

- 22 Undergird him (*Davidic Messiah*) with strength
 To destroy the unrighteous rulers
 To purge Jerusalem from Gentiles
 who trample her to destruction;
 in wisdom and in righteousness to drive out
 the sinners from the inheritance;
 To smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter's jar;
 24 To shatter all their substance with an iron rod;
 To destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth...
 30 And he will have Gentile nations serving him under his yoke...
 31 Nations [shall] come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
 to bring as gifts her children who had been driven out,
 and to see the glory of the Lord with which God has glorified her.
 34 ...He shall be compassionate to all the nations
 (who) reverently (stand) before him.
 35 He will strike the earth with the word of his mouth forever;
 He will bless the Lord's people with wisdom and happiness."

Given the anti-Gentile tone of the passage (Gentiles depicted as sinners to be violently destroyed, as nations to bring under a yoke), the emphasis of v 31 must be primarily upon a homage given in fear. The Gentiles do not come to be converted, they come to bring back

¹⁰³See Suter, *Tradition*, 120.

¹⁰⁴Suter, *Tradition*, 52-4, 72.

¹⁰⁵PssSol 17 finds numerous parallels with the goals of the various political liberation movements in Palestine in the first century. See R.A. Horsley, "'Messianic' Figures and Movements in First-Century Palestine," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 289.

the dispersed, and to behold the glory of the royal Messiah and the glory of Jerusalem, glorified with the very glory of God himself. Note also the distinction between Gentiles and Israel in vv 34-35. To the Gentiles who stand in fear before Him, the royal Messiah shows compassion; but to the people of God, he grants blessing, affirming Israel's covenantal standing and election. Any offer of salvation (limited to "compassion") is subsequent and secondary to Israel's vindication and the judgment of hostile Gentile powers and includes no sense of full incorporation into the covenant.

Sib Or 5:493-500, included in McKnight's list, speaks specifically of the conversion of the Egyptians, who build a temple to God in Egypt. This temple is subsequently destroyed by the Ethiopians (5:505). No mention is made of a general conversion of the Gentiles.

The two post-70 apocalyptic passages cited by McKnight must also be discounted from consideration as being a description of "a conversion of the Gentiles." 2Bar 68:5 describes the rebuilding of Zion and the restoration of priestly service. "And the nations will again come to honor it." This verse is concerned with the restoration of the pre-eminence of Jerusalem ("it"), not about a conversion of the Gentiles. 4Ez 6:26 describes a universal destruction, after which all who survive will experience salvation. However, these survivors are limited to those *within Israel* who have remained faithful to the covenant. In fact, Ezra's questions about divine injustice is raised by the issue of how few will be saved. As Longenecker writes "universalism is not even hinted at anywhere" in the first two sections of 4 Ezra.¹⁰⁶

In the passages we have considered thus far, we have found no evidence of the "conversion" of the Gentiles. Zion in the end times is a place where Gentiles offer homage in fear of the judgments of God on behalf of Israel. Other literature from this same period

¹⁰⁶Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 72-74, also 95-97. Similar in interpretation of 4Ez 6:26 is A. L. Thompson, *Responsibility for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra: A Study Illustrating the Significance of Form and Structure for the Meaning of the Book* (SBLDS 29; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 181, although he thinks the lack of universalism in the second episode is in contrast to the universalism of the first episode. Longenecker has shown the consistent ethnocentric perspective of the entire work.

The fall of Jerusalem seemed to trigger in some a tightening of particularism and in others a heightening of universalism. See the broader attitude to Gentile participation in the world to come in *t. Sanh* 13.2.

describe events which are closer to conversion, but always in sequence after the restoration and vindication of Israel.

Two *Völkerfahrt* passages occur in the book of Tobit.

13:9-11

- 9 O Jerusalem, the holy city...
 Again He will show mercy to the sons of the righteous.
 10 Give thanks worthily to the Lord, and praise the King of the ages,
 That his Tabernacle may be raised for you again with joy...
 11 Many nations will come from afar to the name of the Lord God,¹⁰⁷
 Bearing gifts in their hands, gifts for the King of heaven.
 Generation of generations will give you joyful praise.
 12 Cursed are all who hate you;
 Blessed for ever will be all who love you.
 13 Rejoice and be glad for the sons of the righteous;
 For they will be gathered together...
 16 For Jerusalem will be built with sapphires and emeralds...
 [an extended description follows]

14:5-7

- 5 But God will again have mercy on them, and bring them back into their land;
 And they will rebuild the house of God,
 though it will not be like the former one
 until the times of the age are completed.
 After this they will return from the places of their captivity,
 And will rebuild Jerusalem in splendour.
 And the house of God will be rebuilt there with a glorious building
 for all generations for ever, just as the prophets said of it.
 6 Then all the Gentiles will turn to fear the Lord God in truth,
 And will bury their idols.
 7 All the Gentiles will praise the Lord,
 And His people will give thanks to God,
 And the Lord will exalt his people.

Both these passages speak of the regathering of the tribes of Israel, the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, and the pilgrimage of the nations.¹⁰⁸ Thus again we encounter a universalism that can only be understood if placed in its nationalistic context. Although it is often cited as illustrating "a massive conversion of Gentiles at the Last Day,"¹⁰⁹ Tobit 13:11 is best understood as giving "homage" to the God of Israel, a level of adherence much lower than conversion. Yet, Tobit 14:5-7 stands out in contrast to the other passages we have considered because it does not speak of the judgment of the Gentiles, and their

¹⁰⁷Some manuscripts begin v 11 with the phrase "A bright light shall shine unto all the ends of the earth." See Charles, *APOT*, 1.237.

¹⁰⁸The emphasis on the regathering of the tribes reflects the Diaspora setting of the author. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 35.

¹⁰⁹Here citing McKnight, 47, also cited by Dunn, *Partings*, 48 n. 48, Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise*, 61.

acknowledgment of God involves a turning from worshipping idols to an exclusive veneration of God.¹¹⁰ But even this level of adherence is not the same as incorporation in Israel. As 14:7 makes clear, even in this picture of eschatological salvation the division between Jew (His people, who He will exalt) and Gentile still remains in full force. The conversion of the Gentiles in no fashion affects the identity of the people of God - neither does it remove ethnic boundaries or prerogatives. In fact, the majority of the book of Tobit is concerned to *maintain* racial identity and purity through avoiding intermarriage: thus the extended charge to marry within the nation (5:12-13, where intermarriage is the first of all immorality), and the extended narrative of the romance between Tobias and Sarah which unfolds around this theme (3:7-11.19). The book opens with proof of Tobit's racial heritage (1:1-2) and he is persecuted by the Gentile inhabitants for burying the bodies of fellow Israelites killed by Sennacherib.¹¹¹ He is a righteous Israel because he remains faithful to Yahweh in a Gentile world.

As we saw in detail in an earlier chapter, a consistent element among the various compositional layers of 1 Enoch (excluding the Similitudes) is a notable positive depiction of the Gentiles in the end times. But, even in what must be numbered among the most generous presentations of the conversion of the Gentiles, their salvation is subsequent to the judgment of the nations and the vindication of Israel. This sequence is true in the Animal Apocalypse (1En 90:18-19, 91:30 - the nations bow before Israel and obey "them in everything," 91:38), the Book of Watchers (10:12-22) and the Ten Week Apocalypse (91:11-17).

Another depiction of Zion and the Gentiles is found in Sibylline Oracles 3, written by Egyptian Jews and compiled during the reign of Philometer.¹¹² Jewish nationalism is

¹¹⁰It seems odd that Jeremias and McKnight list Tobit 13:11 as proof of the "conversion of the Gentiles" but neither mention 14:5-7.

¹¹¹Tob 1:16-20. After being restored to his freedom, he continues the practice (2:1-10). His concern for corpse-impurity causes him to sleep outdoors, which results in his blindness (interpreted as righteous suffering). Tobit's actions are in keeping with the insistence in Deut 21:23 that those put to death as criminals must be buried before the sun goes down, an interesting contrast to Paul's use of the same scripture in Galatians.

¹¹²J. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula, Scholars Press, 1974) 54-55 (see also Collins, "Symbol of Otherness," 169) concludes that the purpose of the sibyl is to

seen most clearly in the Zion theology of the final extended oracle (3:657-808). All the traditional elements of the *Völkerkampf* pattern are present: the attack of the Temple mount by hostile Gentile kings (3:657-668), God's defense of Zion (described in terms of cosmic judgment and the return of chaos, 3:669-701), leading to the acknowledgment of the security, inviolability and prosperity of Zion because the Creator is in her midst. (3:702-709).¹¹³ God's defense of Zion results in homage given to God by the nations (3:710-24)¹¹⁴ and the recognition of Israel's election by the Gentiles: "How much the Immortal loves those men!" (711). Zion theology also emphasizes the exclusivity of Jerusalem as the home of the true temple, a prominent theme in the book (see particularly 772-775, also 564-7, 575-579, 286-294, the restoration of the post-exilic temple prefiguring future events, 717).¹¹⁵

To whatever degree universalism is present in Sib Or 3, an awareness of racial and ethnic distinctions is equally, if not more, evident.¹¹⁶ A Ptolemaic king, modeled after Cyrus in Second Isaiah, would rise to power to overcome the Seleucids (193, 611-615, 652-6), but this rise to power was only a transition to the re-establishment of Zion as world capital (193, 611-15, 652-6), a place where all the nations of the earth would stream to bring tribute. Israel's pre-eminence is also asserted through her present (573-600, 580, 584-5) and future role (194-5) as exclusive possessor of divine wisdom, enshrined in the Law. Although using Stoic imagery (a "common law"),¹¹⁷ 3:757-760 predicts the universal dominion of the Torah. Finally, while Sib Or 3 emphasizes the moral aspect of the Law

emphasize the common ground between Egyptian Jews and the wider culture and without critiquing the Hellenistic way of life, to depict Judaism as the fulfillment of those ideals.

¹¹³Compare 3.732-740, also 3.785-7, "Rejoice, maiden, and be glad, for to you the one who created heaven and earth has given the joy of the age. He will dwell in you. You will have immortal light."

¹¹⁴Note 718-19, "Let us send to the Temple and let us all ponder the Law of the Most High God," and 715-724, the turning from other gods/idolatry.

In other passages in Sib Or 3, Gentiles are instructed to avoid total destruction by repenting before God (624-34, compare 570). The experience of divine judgment also will lead them to "bend a white knee on the fertile ground to God" (616-23). But it is very difficult to determine what level of adherence to Judaism these texts are indicating.

¹¹⁵See Collins, *SibOr*, 45.

¹¹⁶The Jews are a race notable for their righteousness and piety (3.69, 213-14, 219-294, 573), in contrast to the Greeks (reflecting the overall anti-Selucid tone). The most extended section of the book (vv. 295-544, about one-quarter of the total verses) is given to a series of woes against the nations. See the various table of nations: 3.158-161, 169-171, 205-209.

¹¹⁷Collins, *OTP*, 1.379.

(circumcision is not mentioned), it does not discount the social distinction which obedience to the Law causes. To those who keep the Law, it warns, "Everyone will be offended at your customs" (272).

The results of our examination of Sib Or 3 concur with the findings of our survey on the whole. When "salvation" is offered to the Gentiles (and this itself occurs in far fewer passages than commonly thought), this future salvation in which some Gentiles will come to share does not compromise the election and separation of Israel from among the nations. Both politically and in terms of wisdom, Israel will always be distinct and pre-eminent. According to Jewish expectation, in the new creation, there continues to be "circumcision and uncircumcision," the future hope of salvation is very different for "Jew and Gentile," the "Israel of God" is limited to righteous Jews "by birth" and those who would join the people of God must do so through the complete adoption of Jewish marks of identity.¹¹⁸

4.4 Conclusion

This balance between integration and distinction, seen clearly in regards to the present (through proselytism) and future salvation of Gentiles (*Völkerfahrt*), is crucial for the understanding of Galatians and so we have spent a little time fleshing it out. In considering the incident at Antioch and the situation in the Galatian churches, it would be highly unusual for Diaspora Jews to react so strongly to table-fellowship rules or to insist that Gentiles be circumcised if Christianity was perceived as a distinct religion, claiming no ties to Judaism. In the conflict with the Pauline mission, both Jews and Jewish-Christians perceived this as an intra-Jewish dispute, and the influence of Palestinian Jewish conservatism is evident upon the usually more tolerant Diaspora attitudes. The question is never "if" the Gentiles could be saved, it is "how" Gentiles are included in Israel. Full *covenant* membership is the issue of concern in Antioch and Galatia. As Sanders

¹¹⁸To the degree that the Law excluded it also functioned as the sole means of inclusion. Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," 59-62 also emphasizes that because of the relationship of the Torah to covenantal standing, the salvation of the Gentiles "implied their incorporation into Israel."

Fredriksen, "Judaism," 547-8 concludes from her study of the Gentiles in Jewish eschatological hope that "the eschatological *inclusion* of Gentiles" is not "eschatological *conversion*." "Saved Gentiles are *not* Jews."

concluded, "membership in the covenant is considered salvation" in all the literature from Ben Sira through the Mishnah.¹¹⁹ Could Gentiles be described as "righteous," that is to enjoy full covenant membership in good standing before God and the assembly, without bearing the sign of the covenant, circumcision, and fulfilling the other requirements which the Law demanded, the stipulations of the covenant? Could Gentiles be incorporated into Israel without fully participating in the Jewish community, according to the rules which governed such fellowship? Our survey of Jewish practice and thought on the present and future "salvation" of Gentiles answers this (from the Jewish point of view) with a resounding "no!"

Thus, for Paul, a new creation had to redefine election, covenant, righteousness, and incorporation in a manner which was radically different from his Jewish past. But when Paul declared to his Jewish contemporaries that the time for the conversion and ingathering of the Gentiles had arrived while Israel yet remained under divine judgment as indicated by foreign rule, he was bound to be misunderstood, because for most in Judaism, new creation without national vindication was an unthinkable possibility. When he said that the "Israel of God" included Gentiles without the marks of Judaism, and furthermore included in the eschatological people of God only those "in Christ," those who valued their Jewish identity must have seen him as the arch-apostate, because for them, to *Judaize* in its widest sense was synonymous with conversion. *It is only when the issue of full covenant membership was pressed, when the issue of Jewish identity (who was a Jew?) was forcefully raised*, that the distinction between Jew and Greek, Circumcised and Uncircumcised, became an matter of contention, a matter Paul sought to transcend by his preaching of a Christ crucified whose resurrection inaugurated a new creation.

¹¹⁹Excepting 4 Ezra, E. P. Sanders, "The Covenant as a Soteriological Category and the Nature of Salvation in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity* (W. D. Davies FS; ed. R. Hammerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976) 15.

SECTION 2. "NEITHER CIRCUMCISION NOR UNCIRCUMCISION, BUT A NEW CREATION"

1. New Creation and the Present Evil Age: The Framework of Paul's Theology in Galatians

The conclusion of Galatians, which summarizes the central ideas of Paul's letter, shows that Paul responded to the political and theological nationalism (6:12-13) which his Galatian converts encountered in the teaching of his opponents with a restatement of the apocalyptic dualism between the world and the new creation (6:14-16).¹²⁰

Gal 6:12-16

- 12 It is those people who wish to make a good showing in the flesh that compel you to be circumcised - only so that they may not be persecuted because of the cross of Christ.
- 13 For not even the circumcised themselves keep the Law, but they want you to be circumcised, in order that they may boast in your flesh.
- 14 But far be it from me to boast - except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world has been crucified to me and I to the world.
- 15 For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything but [a] new creation.
- 16 As for those who will follow this rule - "Peace be upon them and mercy, upon the Israel of God!"

Two eras and realms stand in contrast to each other: the world and the new creation. Key aspects of "the world" are concern with the flesh (and boasting in it), circumcision, and the distinction between those circumcised and those who are not.¹²¹ The means of

¹²⁰Betz, *Galatians*, 313, states regarding Gal 6:11-16 (the *peroratio* in his analysis) that these verses "contains the interpretative clues to the understanding of Paul's major concerns in the letter as a whole and should be employed as the hermeneutical key to the intention of the Apostle." The translation which follows is by Betz, except that we have modified v 12 ("nice appearance" to "good showing") and v 14 ("through which" to "through whom.")

It is precisely this link between Jewish nationalism and new creation which is failed to be appreciated by U. Mell, *Neue Schöpfung: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie zu einem soteriologischen Grundsatz paulinischer Theologie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989) 281-2, 288. He sees the conflict of Galatians (and Philippians) as reflecting primarily a theological conflict between Paul and Judaism (particularly the theology of diaspora synagogues). Mell, 304-306, 392, understands Paul (in his emphasis on the new creation as an eschatological event) to be countering a proselytising mission that portrayed the individual convert to Judaism as a new creation (as in Joseph and Aseneth and later Rabbinic descriptions, see below).

¹²¹E. deW. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921) 354, R. Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 307 (but with an emphasis on "achieved successes.")

transferring¹²² between "the world" and the new creation is by identifying oneself with the crucified Messiah ("boasting in the cross").

The opening paragraph of the letter likewise sets forth this contrast between the world and the new age, with the death and resurrection of Christ as the means of transition.

Gal 1:1-5¹²³

- 1 Paul, apostle - not from human beings nor through a human being,
but through Jesus Christ and God the Father,
who raised him from the dead -
- 2 And all the brothers with me, to the churches of Galatia.
- 3 Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ,
- 4 Who gave himself for our sins,
in order that he might rescue us from the present evil age,
in accordance with the will of our God and Father;
- 5 to whom be glory for ever and ever, amen.

In order to deliver humanity from "the present evil age," Christ gave himself for our sins in obedience to the will of God. He was raised from the dead and declared Lord by God the Father, his resurrection indicating the beginning of the new creation, his exaltation establishing its Lord.¹²⁴

In the introduction and conclusion of Galatians, Paul declares that the present evil age, "the world," is giving way to "a new creation" which will endure for eternity.¹²⁵ The

¹²²See Sanders, *PLJP*, 5-10.

¹²³Translation by Dunn, *Galatians*.

¹²⁴E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 123 writes of the resurrection of Christ: "...no other event deserves to be called a creation out of nothing and presents the eschatological repetition of the first creation." For the resurrection as heralding the beginning of the new age in Jewish apocalyptic literature, see Dan 12:3, 1En 60:1-2, ApocMos 13:3, 28:4, 41:3, 43:2, 2Bar 1:2). In 2 Macc, the resurrection is the hope of those martyred in the cause of Jewish nationalism. The new creation marked the defeat of death - see Dunn, *Galatians*, 29, and the full treatment by M. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (JSNTSup 22; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), particularly helpful on Death as the power which rules "the present evil age."

¹²⁵The new creation hope of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology has both continuity and discontinuity with the past. In terms of continuity, it is the last of the periods of salvation history, the culmination of covenantal hope and renewal. In terms of discontinuity, it is a decisive change from the present situation of evil, powerlessness, sin and death. The divide between the present dilemma and the future hope demarcates all reality: this dualistic perspective (which we shall try to consistently refer to as "apocalyptic dualism") divides time (the former and the new ages/aeons), the powers which rule in that period (evil/the flesh versus the Lord/Spirit), and the realms over which these powers exercise lordship (in Paul, the world and the new creation). This dualism extends to wisdom (the means of perceiving and the content of revelation) and ethics (lifestyle). J. L. Martyn, "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa," in *Pauline Theology, Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (ed. J. M. Bassler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 162-165, in emphasizing that apocalyptic theology is the basis for the theology of Galatians, not covenantal nomism, perhaps fails to draw fully enough into the equation the fact that new creation is the fulfillment of a covenantal hope. In this sense, Paul is not, in Martyn's words, beginning "on a different planet" (162) or "anti-heilsgeschichtlich" (176).

means by which the new creation has been inaugurated, and the means by which one transfers to the new creation, is through the Lord Jesus Christ, crucified for our sins, and now risen Lord. This Christocentric eschatological perspective is the sub-structure of Paul's defense of the gospel he preached to the Galatians. Thus, new creation, although mentioned only once, and that at the conclusion, is far from being an afterthought in Paul's argument. To utilize the language developed by Beker, the apocalyptic contrast between the "world" and the "new creation" is the "coherent centre of Paul's gospel."¹²⁶ *The contrast between the new creation and the world (the present evil age), a contrast created by the crucified Messiah, forms Paul's underlying rationale in his response to the question of the inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God, how they are reckoned righteous in covenantal standing (justified) in relationship to God.*¹²⁷

For Paul, the new creation is both an experienced reality and an anticipated hope. He continued to look forward to a time when all creation would be made anew (Rom 8:19-23) and the time of the parousia when those in Christ would experience the transformation of their mortal bodies (Rom 8:23, 1Cor 15, Phil 3).¹²⁸ The ultimate purpose of God in Christ is the reconciliation of the entire created order (2Cor 5:18-19).¹²⁹ Paul's anticipation of a "new cosmos" and a resurrected/transformed humanity reflects the continuity of his eschatology with the OT prophets¹³⁰ and (as we have seen) with many belonging to diverse factions within Second Temple Judaism. Apocalyptic eschatology is a reflection of Paul's Jewishness, a world-view shared by most in Second Temple Judaism, including Jewish Christianity. However, while elements of the new creation remained a future hope, for Paul the resurrection of Christ was an apocalyptic event, signaling the dawning of the age in

¹²⁶J. C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 16. See also 171 "And far from considering the apocalyptic world view a husk or discardable frame, Paul insists that it belongs to the inalienable coherent core of the gospel."

¹²⁷For justification as "reckoning someone within the covenant" see Wright, *Messiah*, 92-3.

¹²⁸In Paul, the word *ktisis* refers to creation in its entirety (Rom 1:20, 25, 8:19, 20, 21, 22,), so it is wrong to individualize it (new creature) as do Fung, *Galatians*, 308 "the result of the creative act," and H. Schlier, *Der Brief an der Galater* (KEK 7; 10th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949) 282. See V. P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; New York: Doubleday, 1984) 314 and R. C. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ: A Study in Pauline Theology* (BZNW 32; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967) 65.

¹²⁹Beker, *Paul*, 159.

¹³⁰See particularly Isa 65:17-25, also Isa 42:9, 43:19, 48:6, 66:22, Eze 36-37.

which creation and human existence would be transformed. Paul's belief that the resurrection of Jesus Messiah marked the inbreaking of the new creation is what gave a Christian orientation to his Jewish apocalyptic world-view.

Käsemann's efforts to expand Paul's covenantal horizon from election to creation and to broaden the perimeters of covenantal language to creation faith (righteousness as God's faithfulness to his creation, justification as creation out of nothing, humanity having been reduced to utter creatureliness by the encounter with God's power as Creator), has its merits in regards to these broader aspects of new creation.¹³¹ Conversion to, more properly, incorporation into, Christ is an eschatological event.¹³² Just as the cross and resurrection of Christ inaugurate the new creation, so justification actualizes this reality in the individual.

In Galatians, the present impact of the new creation occupies Paul's concerns in terms of the temporal distinctions it creates, the social distinctions it transforms and the dualistic tension it establishes between spirit and flesh. In other words, in Galatians it was the freshly drawn division between the past (the world) and the present (in Christ), and the impact of the future upon the present (the Spirit, the "presence of the future")¹³³ which were the central areas of significance Paul sought to illuminate with reference to his understanding of the new creation.

1.1 Temporal Distinctions Created

In Galatians, Paul presents the gospel as a literal apocalyptic event: it is the *revelation* of Jesus Christ (δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1:12; ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἔμοι, 1:16), the *revelation* of faith (εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, 3:23).

That which existed before this newly initiated time of freedom is portrayed by Paul as under

¹³¹Käsemann, *Romans*, 28 writes that Paul "knows no God who can be isolated from his creation, only the God who is manifest in his creation in judgment and grace, and who acts in relation to it as Lord." In his *Romans* commentary, for righteousness in terms of God's covenant with creation, see 101, 320; for justification as creation *ex nihilo*, see 41-42, 112, 286-7.

¹³²Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 7 and "The Apostle Paul's View of Righteousness," in *Reconciliation, Law and Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 80-3. The new creation is an ontological phenomenon with an anthropological aspect.

¹³³An aptly turned phrase by G.E. Ladd in his book of the same title.

the control of the powers of the previous age. This is seen clearly in the series of ὑπό phrases in chapter 3-4:

ὑπὸ κατάραν (3:10),
 ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν (3:22),
 ὑπὸ νόμον (3:23),
 ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν (3:24-25),
 ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους (4:2),
 ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3),
 ὑπὸ νόμον (4:4)
 ὑπὸ νόμον (4:5).

Further temporal indicators mark the language of these chapters:

until (ἄχρις) the seed should come (3:19),
 until (εἰς) the coming of faith (3:23a),
 until (εἰς) Christ (3:24),
 the coming (ἐλθούσης) of faith (3:25),
 as long as (ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον) the heir is a child (4:1),
 until (ἄχρι) the date set by the father (4:2),
 when (ὅτε) we were children (4:3),
 but when (ὅτε) the fulness of time had come (4:4).

Finally, the central contrast between faith and Law in these chapters is set within the framework of the shift in time which divides the two ages.

<i>Before faith came</i> (23)	<i>Imprisoned under Law</i> (23),
<i>Now faith has come</i> (24)	<i>No longer under a tutor</i> (25). ¹³⁴

Thus, it is clear that apocalyptic eschatology is the theological framework by which Galatians must be understood. Paul's counter-attack upon the teaching of his opponents is to carefully assign their motives, their perspective and their doctrine to an age whose time has passed. He places the question of the "completion" of the Galatians' covenant identity into an apocalyptic view of two aeons divided by the crucified Christ.

1.2 Social Distinctions Transformed

To continue with the language employed by Beker, if the hope for the new creation is "the coherent centre of Paul's thought," its most important "contingency" in Galatians is

¹³⁴G. W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989) 130-134, to whom I owe the above listings, also Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, 65.

the inclusions of the Gentiles within the "Israel of God."¹³⁵ The declaration that because of the new creation, "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything" gave the Pauline gospel its unique emphasis.¹³⁶ In the context of Jewish political nationalism and ethnic awareness, the formulation of Paul's Gentile mission around this conviction was truly revolutionary (and inflammatory!). Both occurrences of the phrase καινὴ κτίσις in Paul's writings occur in polemical debates, leading O. Michel to refer to the phrase as Paul "*Kampfthesen*."¹³⁷ When Paul declared that in the new creation the distinction between Jew and Gentile was no longer of significance, he was not only addressing the issue of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God, he was undermining the ethnic and nationalistic aspect of Jewish eschatological hope. The degree to which his presentation of the new creation was in contrast to that of other Jews is clearly seen when set against the background of depictions of the new creation in Jewish literature of the same era.

1.3 The Hope for the New Creation in Judaism

Whether the intention was to describe the present or the eschatological future, or to encourage present observance of the Torah or promise future reward to those who did, our survey of Jewish wisdom and apocalyptic literature concluded that creation themes were utilized in those writings to establish and support the ethnic and national identity of the people of God. In the wisdom literature, Israel's special place in God's purposes was highlighted by reference to creation. The theme of the exodus (or the new exodus) as new creation is frequent in the OT, and this salvation historical application of the idea of new

¹³⁵This makes it all the more surprising that Beker, *Paul*, 58, concludes that in Galatians a "Christocentric focus" has displaced "Paul's theocentric apocalyptic theme to the periphery."

¹³⁶P. Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 2-3 believes that Paul himself introduced both the language of new creation and the contrast between circumcision/uncircumcision and new creation into the teachings of the early Church.

A late source, Georgius Syncellus, a 9th Century Byzantine historian, mentions in his *Chronographia* that in Gal 6:15 Paul is quoting from the *Apocalypse of Moses*. Syncellus seems to be dependent upon Euthalius (5th Century). The late dating of Syncellus' claim makes it improbable, see A. Oepke, "κρύπτω," *TDNT* 3.989-90. B.D. Chilton, "Gal 6:15: A Call to Freedom before God," *ExpT* 89 (1977-78) 311-13 believes that Paul is modifying a Jewish theologoumenon current in contemporary Judaism (e.g. Jub 4:26) which treated new creation as a "fresh start in one's dealings with God." As we shall see, Paul's thought is more clearly eschatological.

¹³⁷O. Michel, "Schöpfung im NT," *RGG³* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1961) 5.1477.

creation continued into the intertestamental period. In WisSol 19:6-12, we saw how the writer had carefully superimposed his account of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt upon the account of the creation of the world in Genesis 1. Here the creation of the world became the narrative analogy for the creation of Israel, as creation was "fashioned anew" in order to establish the nation of Israel. Similarly the search of Wisdom, "the book of the Law," for a dwelling place was depicted also by analogy to Gen 1 in Sir 24. The choice of Israel as Wisdom's abode transformed the Land into Paradise - the possession of the Torah actualizing the hope of primal time. Furthermore, we saw in our study of Sir 33:7-17 how the scribe supported the distinction between Jew ("some he blessed") and Gentile ("some he cursed") by the theory that God had created all creation in corresponding opposites (v 15). Thus, the distinction between Jew and Gentile is fundamental to the structure of the cosmos.¹³⁸

In Jewish writings contemporaneous to the New Testament, the new creation was also an end-time hope for the righteous to inherit. But by what are the righteous defined in these passages which promise to them the hope of Paradise? 1En 72:1, the opening of the Astronomical Book, holds out the promise of the new creation. But in this sectarian tract the emphasis on covenant righteousness was upon those who through revelatory insight into the cosmos were able to observe the "correct" Jewish calendar. In the depiction of the new creation in 1En 91:16, the righteous were those who specifically resist the encroachment of the Gentiles and the influences of Hellenism.¹³⁹ In Daniel, the "people of the saints of the Most High" who will be given the dominion intended for Adam were those whose Torah-faithfulness was expressed in continuing to observe food laws and resisting idolatry in spite of oppressive and threatening political powers. Thus, it was those who faithfully adhered to those aspects of the Law which separated the Jews from Gentiles, those practices most

¹³⁸We also saw this inter-related understanding of cosmos and election in our study of 1 Enoch: those who transgressed the social and ethnic boundaries prescribed for priestly purity are guilty of upsetting the cosmos like the Watchers did when they bridged the boundary between angels and humans. Those who follow the "way of the Gentiles" by adopting the secularized calendar are at cross-purposes with the order and structure of the universe.

¹³⁹Similarly in 1En 45:4-5, the passage in the Similitudes which promises a new creation, the righteous are the righteous remnant within Judaism, those persecuted by "kings and the mighty."

likely to bring racial and religious persecution, who would inherit the new creation in the future. The hope of the New Creation was also specifically tied to the restoration of Zion and the glorification of the temple (Jub 1:29, 4:26, 2Bar 32:6).

Turning to some texts our survey did not include in detail, in 2Bar it is those in Israel who have adhered to the Law (78:7) and have maintained a separation from the Gentiles (42:4, compare 41:3) who inherit the new earth (30:1-2).¹⁴⁰ The hope for the renewal of creation belongs to Abraham and his offspring (2Bar 57:2). There will be some proselytes from the Gentiles who join Israel (41:4-5, 42:5) but the eschatological dominion of Israel over all nations is also a part of the new creation (72:5). In this same line of thought, when Ezra asks God who will inherit the promise of the new creation (4Ez 7:75), the divine response is that it is given to those who have "laboriously served the Most High, and withstood danger every hour, that they might keep the Law of the Lawgiver perfectly" (7:89).

The covenanters at Qumran also believed that as the righteous remnant within ethnic Israel, they would "receive all the glory of Adam" at the "Renewal" (1QS 4:25). The eschatological renewal of creation is also a theme twice found in the psalms of the community (1QH 11:10-14, 13:11-12). Yet as we noted, even though the boundaries of the righteous are more narrow than simply ethnic Israel, the covenanters clearly understood themselves as the remnant *of Israel*. The War Scroll gives vivid documentation of the eschatological destruction of Gentile powers, and 4Q Florilegium 1:3-4 anticipates the purity of the future Temple as not being polluted by "Ammonite, nor Moabite, nor bastard, nor stranger (or foreigner), nor the proselyte (גַּלּוּת) forever, for his holy ones are there."¹⁴¹ Even if this text represents the most harsh attitude toward the conversion of the Gentiles, the Temple Scroll confirms the sect's hesitations regarding Gentile converts. Only after three generations can proselytes enter as far as women (the outer court) and only from the fourth

¹⁴⁰The future hope for the restoration of Zion in 2Bar 44:12 is linked with the call in the present for faithful adherence to the Torah (44:2-3, 14).

¹⁴¹For this reading of גַּלּוּת (contra Vermes, *DSSE*³, 293), see G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran, 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 92, 102, whose translation is cited.

generation can there be even the possibility of entering the middle court with males who are "Jews by birth."¹⁴²

A more tolerant view of proselytes is found in *Joseph and Aseneth*, a text we have not previously examined. Upon introduction, Joseph distances himself from Aseneth because of her idolatry and food impurity (5:5, 8:5, the prohibition against intermarriage is noted in 7:6). But he intercedes for her, "renew her by your Spirit,¹⁴³ and make her alive again by your life." This prayer is answered, for Aseneth repents from her idolatry and lawlessness (10:1-11:14). In 15:4, her forgiveness and transformation is announced to her by a heavenly representative:

Behold, from this day forth you shall be renewed (ἀνακαινισθήσῃ) and refashioned (ἀναπλασθήσῃ) and revived (ἀναζωοποιηθήσῃ), and you shall eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality; and you shall be anointed with the unction of incorruptibility.

Her commitment to the God of Joseph centres upon her turning away from idolatry and forsaking "bread of strangulation" (5:5) for heavenly manna.¹⁴⁴ Sanders concluded his review of *Joseph and Aseneth* with the comment, "outside of Judaism there is no salvation." The theme of the story is the conversion to Judaism of Aseneth.¹⁴⁵ Whether or not the silence regarding circumcision is intentional or a byproduct of the story-line in which the main character is female, we should note that the issue of food purity is an essential sign of a proselyte's conversion.¹⁴⁶ Thus the concerns of James in Acts 15:20, 29 and Gal 2 are well in keeping with this (more "liberal"?) portrayal of conversion to Judaism.

¹⁴²11QTemple 39:5, 40:6. Other texts indicating the proselytes' lower status are CD 14:3-6 and *Pesher Nahum* 2:9. See Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 128-9 for a full discussion and secondary literature on these texts.

¹⁴³Compare Titus 3:5, "ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου." For the concept of new creation in JosAs, see particularly Mell, *Neue Schöpfung*, 226-249.

¹⁴⁴Compare Odes Sol 11 where the renewed individual is compared to Paradise. The proselyte and repentant sinner was considered by the rabbis as a "new creature" (בְּרִיָּה הַחֲדָשָׁה). For instance, GenR 39:4, "Whoever brings a heathen near to God and converts him is as though he had created him." Moore, *Judaism*, 1.533, Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 119-20, and E. Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," *Studia Theologica* (1951) 44-85 attempt to understand Paul against this Rabbinic background, but see the criticisms by Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 14-16, 22-23 and Mell, 392. The (Rabbinic) individualization of the term "new creation" can be understood to be an implicit critique of apocalyptic theology (Paul's frame of reference). Thus, individualistic interpretations of new creation as new creature, such as M. Neary, "Creation and Pauline Soteriology," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 50 (1983-1984) 25-28 miss the eschatological character of the phrase.

¹⁴⁵Sanders, "The Covenant," 22-23.

¹⁴⁶See *OTP*, 2.191.

This diverse cross-section of references to the new creation in the Jewish writings which form the background of the NT, coupled with the various depictions of *Völkerfahrt* we reviewed earlier, reveal one aspect common to all. Each has tied together the new creation with some aspect of Jewish national identity or ethnic practice: whether this be the exodus, the possession of the Law, the glorification of Zion, the vindication of Israel, the belief that present obedience to the Torah secured future reward, whether righteousness was characterized by calendar observance or the honoring of food purity laws. Thus, during the time of Paul, we conclude that in many aspects, "new creation" was an apocalyptic interpretation of Jewish nationalism and ethnocentrism and it was against this background that Paul made his radical assertion regarding the new creation. Torah observances which separated Jews from Gentiles, the ethnic prerogatives of election history, identity drawn from the hopes of Zion as political and religious symbol, no longer played a role in defining the Israel of God. How does Paul arrive at this radical reassessment of Jewish theology?

2. Flesh, Works of the Law and Ethnicity

In Paul's writings, "flesh" is both a realm and the power which defines that realm. On one level, flesh is simply the realm of human existence, with an emphasis on its limitations, weakness and corruptibility. It denotes "what is merely human," not necessarily evil, but still, in contrast to divine activity and empowerment.¹⁴⁷ The "weakness" of the flesh, particularly its propensity towards self-centredness,¹⁴⁸ makes it vulnerable to sin and temptation. "The flesh" is the characteristic description of the first creation, the world - it is that which is earthly in contrast to what is heavenly, that which is temporal in contrast to that which is eternal, that which ends in death in contrast to that which begins in resurrection. In

¹⁴⁷J. M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth: Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988) 206, Dunn, *Galatians*, 140, 155, 287. 1Cor 3:1-4 is particularly clear as it equates σαρκικοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, and ἄνθρωποι ἐστε ("mere men"). Compare (Gen 6:12, Isa 31:3, Sir 31:1, 1QH 15:21, John 3:6, Rom 8:3, 8, see F. Baumgärtel and R. Meyer, "σάρξ," *TDNT* 7.107-8, 111-12).

¹⁴⁸C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: A Study of the Epistle to the Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1985) 73, 77, writes "They [the works of the flesh, 5:19-21] underline the fact that sin is egocentricity; and the flesh is man's innate tendency to egocentricity." It could be that with further theological research, a degree of continuity might be found between the "new perspective on Paul" and the "Lutheran" interpretation. Barclay, *Obedying*, 251, regarding Eph 2:8-9, raises the possibility that "an aversion to individual self-righteous attitudes is not an invention of the Reformation, or even of Augustine!"

this way, life in the flesh is the opposite of life in the new creation, which is inaugurated by the power of the resurrection and grants now the sonship of the age to come.

However, Paul can also personify flesh as the power of sin which exercises dominion over the "present evil age." As such, the flesh stands in a relationship of mutual resistance to the Spirit (5:17), the power which determines the new creation. As Käsemann writes:

Apocalyptic even underlies the particular shape of Pauline anthropology. For the technical terms 'spirit' and 'flesh' do not signify, any more than the term 'body' does, the individuation of the individual human being, but primarily that reality which, as the power either on the heavenly or the earthly side, determines him from outside, takes possession of him and thereby decides into which of the two dualistically opposed spheres he is to be integrated.¹⁴⁹

The desires of the flesh express themselves in the works of the flesh, the desires of the Spirit come to expression as the fruit of the Spirit (5:16-23). In the "already" as opposed to the "not yet," the Christian, although made alive by the Spirit and walking through the Spirit's power (5:25), still lives "in flesh" (2:20). Because of the weakness of human flesh, and the power of sin which desires to seize upon this weakness, care and caution must be taken so that the freedom of the Spirit is not perverted into license to return to that which brings bondage (5:13). Precisely because life for the Christian continues "in flesh," it is crucial that one no longer sows to the flesh, reaping corruption and corruptible things, but instead sows to the Spirit, reaping that which belongs to eternal life (6:8). Indeed, those in Christ "have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires" (5:24), yet in spite of the indicative, the imperative remains in place.¹⁵⁰ Except for the Christological emphasis, Paul's depiction of the flesh and Spirit we have described thus far would find many parallels in contemporary Jewish literature.

However, in Galatians, the weakness of the flesh is not limited only to moral weakness (a typical Hellenistic catalogue of vices). For Paul, flesh has an ethnic as well as

¹⁴⁹E. Käsemann, "On the subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM, 1969) 136, similarly in his *Romans*, 43, 150. For sin as "power" see Sanders, *PPJ*, 498-500.

¹⁵⁰Barclay, *Obedying*, 181-2, Barrett, *Freedom*, 74.

an ethical emphasis. Gal 3:2-3 links Spirit with faith, and flesh with works of the Law, and sets these pairs in antithesis.

Gal 3:2-3

2 Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law,
or by hearing with faith?

3 ...Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?

5 Does he who supplies the Spirit to you
and works miracles among
you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?

In its broadest perspective, "works of the Law" reflected the belief fundamental to Judaism that righteous covenantal standing was maintained through obedience to the Torah and participation in the provisions for atonement and restoration provided through the cult. Yet as we reviewed earlier, in terms both of Jewish nationalism and of Paul's mission to the Gentiles, it was those practices which made Judaism most socially distinct for the Gentiles which rose to the forefront in defining fidelity to the Torah: Jewish practice of circumcision, food laws and Sabbath/calendar and Jewish refusal to participate in idolatrous cults.¹⁵¹ A central issue in Paul's break with the mainstream of Jewish thought is that he placed doing the "works of the Law" in the realm of the flesh, and in contrast to the means of inheriting the new creation.

Paul emphasized that circumcision, primary among "works of the Law" and among symbols of Jewish ethnic identity, belonged to the realm of the flesh. Those who desire to circumcise the Galatians seek to make a good showing "ἐν σαρκὶ" (Gal 6:13).¹⁵² Rom. 2:28-9 contrasts περιτομή ἐν σαρκί (ἐν γράμματι) with περιτομή καρδίας (ἐν πνεύματι) (compare Col 2:11, 13, Eph 2:9-11). Other Jewish practices fall on the wrong side of the divide between the flesh and the new creation. To focus covenantal standing upon observing the Jewish cultic calendar was to bring oneself into slavery to the powers of the

¹⁵¹After all, Gentile hostility and Rome's political and military response to the Jews was not primarily caused by an awareness of "theological disagreements" as much as sociological conflict which resulted in social unrest. Of course, Jews interpreted their cultural distinctiveness as reflecting their election and covenant, and therefore were adamant in their unwillingness to compromise on these issues.

Clearly, I am following Dunn on finding this emphasis in the phrase "works of the Law." See his most recent presentations of defining "works of the Law" in this manner: "Yet Once More - 'The Works of the Law': A Response," *JSNT* 46 (1992) 99-117, *Galatians*, 49, 135-9, 165, 172, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (NT Theology; Cambridge: CUP, 1993) 75-79, 114-118 (henceforth, *Theology of Galatians*).

¹⁵²Literally, a covenant "in your flesh," Gen 17:11-14, 23-25, Lev 12:3, Eze 44:7-9, Sir 44:20, Jdt 14:10, Jub 15:13-33, 4Ez 1:31. See Barclay, *Obeying*, 180.

"world" (Gal 4:8-10). To uphold a distinction between Jew and Gentile through governing table-fellowship by Jewish dietary Laws was to seek to be justified by "works of the Law," an outlook opposite of being incorporated into the resurrected Christ (2:11-21). The inbreaking of the new creation created a division in the present time between flesh and Spirit, works of the Law and faith in Christ. Believing that the new creation marked the end of the distinction between circumcised and uncircumcised instead of reinforcing it, Paul's apocalyptic eschatological thus influenced his covenant theology.

Also in the realm of the flesh was any attitude which sought to define the covenant people of God by ethnic descent and ethnic practices. Paul used the phrase κατὰ σάρκα to describe Jews "by birth" (Gal 4:23, 29, Rom 1:3, 4:1, 9:3, 5-9, 11:14, 1Cor 10:18-Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα). To trust in this ethnic identity is to "put confidence ἐν σαρκί." The ones who do so are "those who mutilate the flesh," and by implication those who continue to consider it gain (like Paul formerly did) to have been circumcised, to be "of the people of Israel," to be "Hebrew of Hebrews," to be zealous and blameless in regards to the Law. This is the opposite for Paul, of boasting "ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ," of being the "true" circumcision, of carrying out "in the Spirit" the practice of priestly worship. What previously he had zealously regarded as having the highest value, membership in the people of God based on physical descent and a corresponding righteous standing based on covenantal Law, he now regards as the basest form of refuse (Phil 3:8), as symbolizing that which is "unclean" before God (Phil 3:3-11).

An important aspect of the weakness of the flesh, of self-indulgence and self-centredness, is that flesh places its confidence in physical descent, in circumcision and in upholding the boundaries of the Torah. Thus, both works of the Law (particularly circumcision) and an overestimation of the value of ethnic descent fall within the realm of the flesh. These things therefore also stand in relationship to the flesh as power.

Those who "sow to the flesh" in seeking to complete their salvation "according to the flesh" and "boast" in this identity (6:12-3) are at risk of placing themselves once again under the power of death and corruption.

The insistence on circumcision was therefore doubly wrong in Paul's eyes; it re-erected an ethnic barrier which limited the grace of God, and it left those who lived by such emphases caught in all the weaknesses of the flesh.¹⁵³

For those in Christ who would lay emphasis upon these things, it was not a step towards completion, but back to immaturity, back towards corruptibility. Having been transferred across the apocalyptic divide from being enslaved to all which makes up "the present evil age" to the freedom of being incorporated into Christ in the new creation, it was unthinkable to choose to be enslaved by the flesh again. For although Christians live still in the realm of the flesh, they no longer live under the power of the flesh. Paul's life "in the flesh," in his Jewishness, is lived with an orientation towards Christ, no longer towards his ethnicity as grounding his primary identity (2:20).¹⁵⁴

The apocalyptic contrast between flesh and Spirit, slavery and freedom, is most clearly seen in the extended allegory of Gal 4 :21-31 which Paul addresses to those who desire to be "under Law." Here Paul literally sets up two columns of opposites, employing the technical term συστοιχέω.¹⁵⁵ The introductory sentence establishes the antithetical structure of the passage and introduces the two main pairs of opposites which will be contrasted: (1) slavery and freedom, and (2) flesh and promise/Spirit. The rest of the passage clearly falls into the two column structure.

¹⁵³Dunn, *Galatians*, 155-6, also 339. Wright, *Messiah*, 292 n. 194, similarly writes, "National righteousness does not result in sinful conduct, but puts one back on the level where its power is exercised."

¹⁵⁴Note also 2Cor 4:11, "The life of Jesus manifested in our mortal flesh."

¹⁵⁵J. L. Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985) 418-19. See also Dunn, *Galatians*, 244ff.

Gal 4:22-26, 28-31¹⁵⁶

one by a slave girl,	the other by a free woman.
But the son of the slave girl	Whereas the son of the free woman
was born in accordance with the flesh	was born through promise.

Such things are interpreted allegorically.
For these women are two covenants;

one from Mount Sinai
gives birth to slavery -
such is Hagar.
This Hagar-Sinai is a mountain in Arabia;
She belongs to the same column
as the present Jerusalem
for she is in slavery
with her children

But the Jerusalem above
is free
such is our mother
But you, brothers, like Isaac,
are children of promise

But just as then
the one born
in accordance with the flesh
used to persecute

so also now
the one born
in accordance with the Spirit
[is persecuted]

But what says the scripture?
Throw out

the slave girl and her son;
for the son of the slave girl
will never inherit with

the son of the free woman
[who alone will inherit]

	Therefore, brothers, we are children
not of the slave girl	but of the free woman.

We could summarize the antithetical pairs of opposites as follows, noting as well the number of occurrences.

Enslaved mother (3) (Hagar-2)
Covenant from Sinai (1)
Present Jerusalem/enslaved (1)
Descended from slavery (6)
According to the flesh (2)

Free mother (2)
[New covenant] (1)
Jerusalem above/free (1)
Son of the free woman (3)
According to promise (2)
According to the Spirit (1)

Paul places the present Jerusalem and the covenant given at Sinai on the side of the divide defined by slavery and flesh. Those who place confidence in being Jews by birth, "born according to the flesh," are destined to live in the realm of the flesh. Those whose identities are established by living according to the covenantal Law given at Sinai, those who look to earthly Jerusalem as their locus of authority and revelation, are in slavery to the flesh.

¹⁵⁶Translation by Dunn, *Galatians*.

In the Hagar-Sarah allegory, Paul attacks one of the foundational symbols of Jewish national and religious identity: Zion, the source of creation, the place from which creation is sustained, the epitome of the new creation. The numerous references to the hope for the eschatological renewal and glorification of Jerusalem reveal it to be a widespread and central idea in Jewish eschatology and nationalistic hope.¹⁵⁷ Applying his apocalyptic framework, he destroys the continuity between present Jerusalem and eschatological Zion. Present Jerusalem is in bondage, in the same column as a mountain *outside* the Land promised Abraham. Eschatological Jerusalem, the primary depiction of the ultimate vindication of Israel over the nations, in Paul's hands becomes instead a symbol of the end of the era of Law, nationalism, and the ethnic aspect of the definition of the sons of Abraham, the Israel of God. As Paul would declare in 1Cor 3:16-17: "You are God's temple, the Spirit of God dwells in you."¹⁵⁸

Paul's treatment of his apostolic commission vis-à-vis the Jerusalem church is marked by this same apocalyptic dualism. His apostleship is "οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου" (Gal 1:1), his gospel "οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην" (Gal 1:11-12). In determining his mission, he did not confer "with flesh and blood." His presentation of his gospel to the Gentiles to "those reputed to be something (but a partiality not recognized by God)" was initiated by "revelation," not by an edict of their authority. To his divine revelation, they "added nothing." In fact, representatives from the Jerusalem church, men from James, were responsible for leading two outstanding leaders, Peter and Barnabas, into hypocrisy. Thus,

¹⁵⁷E.g. Isa 2:2-4, 54:10-14; 60-62; Eze 40-48, Zech 12-14, Tobit 13:9ff, 14:7, Jub 4:26, Sib Or 5:250ff, 414-33, PssSol 11:8, TLevi 10:5, 1QM 12:13ff, 4Qp Isa 1:7, 11, 4Ez 9:26-10:59, 2Bar 4:2-7, 6:9, 32:4. All of these references are treated in A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (SNTSM; Cambridge: CUP, 1981) 18-25. Unfortunately, Lincoln's treatment of this passage is marred by his interpretation of 16 that present Jerusalem is "the epitome of legalistic Judaism."

¹⁵⁸Paul utilizes this imagery for the sake of parenthesis in 1Cor 6:19-20 and 2Cor 6:14-18.

Eph 2:11-21 draws together the end of ethnic division with body and Temple imagery: there is no longer the boundary wall between Jew and Gentile in the one body of Christ - all together are growing "into a holy temple in the Lord ... a dwelling place for God in the Spirit." In this sense, Eph 2:11-21 seems to combine the ideas of 1Cor 3:16-17 and 1Cor 12:12-13. On the relationship between the heavenly temple and Adam, see C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical and Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4:7-5:21* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991) 121-122. Paul also speaks of the resurrection as a time when he will be clothed in the heavenly temple, 2Cor 5:1-5.

any authority to which the Jerusalem church laid claim because they were the *Jerusalem* church was considered by Paul to be based not "in Christ" but in the flesh, a claim to authority with no validity in the new creation.

Returning to Gal 4, the contrast between Paul's interpretation and his opponents is self-evident. Jews naturally associated Isaac with Jews and Ishmael with Gentiles.¹⁵⁹ Thus, Gentiles who wanted to be incorporated into the promises of Abraham must Judaize, place their lives under the stipulations of the Law. Through allegory, Paul radically reinterprets current Jewish understanding: he equates the Jews with Ishmael, those who do not inherit the promise, those who are not born according to the Spirit, those who are not free. Only those "in Christ" are "children of promise." For "children of promise" to seek somehow to be completed by observing the Law is for them to step back under the power of the realm of the flesh and slavery. Paul can only draw one conclusion: the Judaizers, those who persecute the ones born according to the Spirit, those born according to the Spirit are to in turn cast out.¹⁶⁰ The fundamental dualism between the world and the new creation (and the powers which have dominion in those aeons, the flesh and the Spirit) was used by Paul to refute the teaching that Gentile Christians needed to Judaize to become full members in Abraham's family.

3. Perception according to the Flesh and New Creation in 2Cor 5

This Pauline contrast between the covenant people defined "according to flesh" and the covenant people defined by "new creation" is clearly evident in 2Cor. The phrase κατὰ σάρκα plays a key role in 2Cor 5:11-21, a passage which contains the other mention of

¹⁵⁹For an extremely contrasting interpretation of the Hagar/Sarah story, see Jub 16:17. There, all the offspring of Ishmael are the Gentiles, while the offspring of Isaac are "the portion of the Most High," a possession of God "above all the nations." Abraham commands Jacob, the offspring of Isaac, "Separate yourself from the Gentiles" (22:16). This retelling of the story of the two sons of Abraham underlines the need to distinguish Jew from Gentile.

¹⁶⁰Although Paul is citing Gen 21:10, ἐκβάλλω especially refers to exorcism in the NT (See F. Hauck, "βάλλω," *TDNT* 1.527-8). Given the association between the Judaizers and hostile spiritual powers ("bewitched," possible allusions to the evil eye, the "elemental powers"), one is left to wonder whether Paul intended a double meaning in his citation of the LXX.

καινή κτίσις in Paul's writings. The perspective of the new creation is opposite a mind-set κατὰ σάρκα (5:16-17).

- 16 Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα·
εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν,
ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκουμεν.
17 ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινή κτίσις·
τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά·

Clearly, the meaning of the phrases οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα and ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν is related: what is true in regards to Christ is true in regards to "all." As we noted earlier, κατὰ σάρκα refers to Jewish physical descent in Rom 1:3, 4:1, 9:3, 9:5, and 1Cor 10:18. The phrase is applied specifically to Christ in Rom 1:3, 9:5, showing that the significance of the Messiah's Jewish origin was not unimportant for Paul (and probably for Paul's opponents). Some commentators have understood its use in 2Cor 5:16 in a similar way, as an adjectival phrase. The resulting emphasis makes good sense, particularly in terms of our discussion of Galatians. However the grammatical construction presents the stronger claim that the phrase functions adverbially.¹⁶¹ As Martyn puts it, οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα and ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα refers to perceptions which are "characteristic of the old age," a "reference to the way of knowing characteristic of the natural man. He lives in the realm of the flesh and knows in a way which takes the flesh as its norm."¹⁶²

The issue in 2 Corinthians does not yet seem focused on specific doctrine or practice. The opponents first line of attack was on a personal dimension: Paul's credentials and authority to be an apostle.¹⁶³ The issue at hand is specifically apostolic authority over the Corinthian church. Throughout the letter, issues arise which reveal what the opponents claim to possess as validation of their apostolic authority, traits which they have charged, in

¹⁶¹Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 312-13 (who provides a good survey of the history of interpretation), C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1973) 170, J. L. Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Corinthians 5:16," in *Christian History and Interpretation* (J. Knox FS; ed. W. R. Farmer; C. F. D. Moule; R. R. Niebuhr; Cambridge: CUP, 1967) 270-275, R. P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Waco: Word, 1986) 151-2. In 2Cor 5:16, the phrase follows the verb each time, not the noun (which it does in Rom 1:3, 4:1, 9:3, 9:5, 1Cor 1:26, 10:18, Rom 9:5 even adds the article (ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα). Compare Gal 4:23, 29.

¹⁶²Martyn, "Epistemology," 274, then 278. It is the emphasis on "recognizing" which leads Martyn to his emphasis on the interplay between eschatology and epistemology.

¹⁶³Hence the absence of mention of circumcision, dietary laws, or the Jewish calendar, such as in Galatians. See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 53.

turn, that Paul somehow lacks. We can number among these an eloquence in word and speech, a claim to divine knowledge, and miraculous signs and ecstatic manifestations of the Spirit. But most important among things which Paul thinks are only of value κατὰ σάρκα in relationship to our investigation of Galatians are the issue of ethnic and apostolic pedigree.

In 2Cor 11:22-23, Paul queries (speaking as "a fool"):

Ἑβραῖοί εἰσιν; κἀγώ.
 Ἰσραηλῖταί εἰσιν; κἀγώ.
 σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; κἀγώ.
 διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ·

Paul's opponents in Corinth boasted in their "full-blooded" ethnic heritage. Because the false apostles still place weight on their Jewishness κατὰ σάρκα, Paul shows their self-evaluation and their perspective (and that of the Corinthians who have valued their claims) to be κατὰ σάρκα, a fall back to former things from the insight "ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις."

There is a notable similarity in the implicit claims of those referred to as "dogs and evil-doers and those who mutilate the flesh" in Phil 3, another passage, as we saw earlier, in which Paul claims full equality to his opponents in being an "Jew by birth." However, Paul's citizenship is no longer defined by an earthly orientation (φρονοῦντες - Phil 3:19) but is ἐν οὐρανοῖς. He awaits the soon returning Lord, ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ (Phil 3:20-21). It is because of the new creation (in its present fulfillment and future consummation) that what once Paul counted as gain he now counts as refuse. Ethnic pedigree is of no value in establishing authority over the people of the new creation.

A second area which reflects a perspective κατὰ σάρκα is the "false apostles" (ψευδαπόστολοι - 2Cor 11:13-15, 19) claim to be authorized by the "super apostles" (τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλοι - 2Cor 11:5, 12:11), the pillars of the Jerusalem church.¹⁶⁴ They

¹⁶⁴Following C. K. Barrett, "ΨΕΥΔΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙ (2 Cor 11:13)," *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982) 87-107 on this distinction between the two parties. Whether they were truly what are commonly called "Hellenistic Jews" (although in reality all Jews of this period were Hellenized to some degree) (Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 48ff) or adapted their presentation of themselves to a Hellenistic manner to make their appeal more directly to the Corinthians is a matter of debate.

bear letters of recommendation from the mother church (2Cor 3:1).¹⁶⁵ As we saw in regards to Galatians, Paul has no room for authorization from a human level, above all from the Jerusalem church. Although he left Jerusalem with the "pillar apostles" affirmation (Gal 2:9) he was not dependent upon it. Rather his gospel comes from "a revelation of Christ." Paul portrays the dependence of his opponents upon authorization from Jerusalem to be significant of a much more important reality - that their frame of reference has not been transformed by the new creation in Christ.¹⁶⁶ They represent old things and old values.

2Cor 3:3 begins a segue to a broader theme with its contrast between letters of commendation written with ink and the Corinthian converts as a letter of Christ written with the Spirit, "not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts." As Lietzmann comments "Imperceptibly the picture changes again, for what is written is now no longer a commendatory letter but the Gospel which stands over against the law, and is written in men's hearts through the Spirit."¹⁶⁷ As the overvaluation of ethnic descent represented something which was of gain, but no longer, so this dependence upon the authority of Jerusalem represents a dispensation that once had glory, but whose glory has faded away in light of the inbreaking glory of Christ (2Cor 3:8-11). Rom 7:6 draws the explicit equation between "the old and the letter" in contrast to "the new and the Spirit":

The question of the identity of Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians has engendered much discussion. Three main lines of thought exist as to their identity: 1-Palestinian Jewish Christians, representatives of the Jerusalem church, 2-Hellenistic Jewish Christians, 3-Gnostic elements. See D. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 1-9 for an in-depth overview of scholarly discussion. For contributions to the discussion since Georgi, see the introductions to Furnish, *II Corinthians* and Martin, *2 Corinthians*, although the basic possibilities have remained unchanged.

¹⁶⁵They also had been given letters of recommendation by the Corinthians (2Cor 3:1). Were these delegates gathering a dossier of letters from churches already visited as further proof of their authority?

¹⁶⁶Note 2Cor 4:4, "the god of this world has *blinded the minds* of the unbelievers." Particularly in the Corinthian correspondence, Paul draws a distinction between wisdom in Christ and the wisdom "of this world" (1Cor 1:20), "of this age" (1Cor 2:6, 1Cor 3:18 - "wise in this age"). Thus, Paul's apocalyptic theology is truly "apocalyptic": it is both "perception of revelation" as well as the revelatory event itself. Rom 12:2 makes this explicit: to escape conformity to the cosmos, one must be transformed by the ongoing recreation of the mind.

Because Paul defends his apostleship on the basis of the new creation, it is interesting to note that he compares the Corinthians potential deception by the "false apostles" (ministers of Satan 11:13-14) with the temptation of Eve (2Cor 11:3). "The beginning of the new age is like the beginning of the old: Satan is at work testing, and where possible destroying, the loyalty of the people of God, and their readiness to find their life where, and only where, God has given it to them," C. K. Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians," *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982) 67. Compare ApocMos 17, LAE 9:1.

¹⁶⁷H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I, II* (HNT 9; 5th ed; Tübingen: Mohr, 1969) 110-11, cited and translated by Barrett, *2 Corinthians*, 109.

νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα,
ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος
καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος.¹⁶⁸

Similarly, in 2Cor 5:17 the contrasts κατὰ σάρκα/καινὴ κτίσις and ἀρχαῖα/καινὰ concludes the argument which Paul began in 3:6 with the contrast :

οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος·
τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτέννει,
τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ.

Paul places the emphasis of his defense upon his belief that the realm of the flesh and the Law as letter has been superseded by the new creation.

This decisive change in the criteria for perceiving individual and corporate identity is shown by the absolute language Paul uses in 2Cor 5:16-17:

οὐδένα...κατὰ σάρκα
εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις

All in Christ are defined only by participation in the new creation¹⁶⁹ The emphasis is similar to 2Cor 3:18, which brings to a climax the contrast between the old covenant of veiled revelation and the new covenant of face-to-face relationship: "We *all* (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες) with unveiled faces..." The new creation in Christ becomes the exclusive point of reference for all matters concerning those whom the Spirit has made alive.¹⁷⁰

A further similarity to Galatians is that indicators of eschatological time serve to clarify the impact of the new creation theme on Paul's argument.

5:15 μηκέτι
5:16 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
5:16 νῦν οὐκέτι
5:17 καινὴ κτίσις
5:17 τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρήλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά·

The emphatic stress on "νῦν" shows that the eschatological turn of the ages is a present reality. Isa 48:6 (compare 42:9) perhaps provides the background for these verses.¹⁷¹ The

¹⁶⁸See Dunn, *Romans*, 1.366, 373.

¹⁶⁹See Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 4-5. Compare the absolute language of Galatians "no flesh justified by works of the Law" (2:16), "all under curse/sin" (3:10, 22), "all are sons of God in Christ through faith" (3:26), "all are one in Christ" (3:28).

¹⁷⁰Exclusive identification is caused by "the singularity of the gospel," the force of the proposal by B. R. Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel," A Reading of Galatians," in *Pauline Theology I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (ed. J. Bassler; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991) 153. See Sanders, *PPJ*, 484.

¹⁷¹Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter," 5-6. Compare also Isa 42:9 (LXX - τὰ καινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν) and 43:18-19a (ἰδοὺ ποιῶ καινὰ ἃ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ...).

eschatological backdrop to 2Cor 5:15-18 is decisive in determining that Paul is not making reference to a "new creature" but the "new creation," for the end result of the *καινή κτίσις* is nothing less than the reconciliation of the cosmos to God in Christ (5:18).¹⁷²

Thus in 2Cor 5:16-17, two important components of what Paul relegates to a knowledge *κατὰ σάρκα* are placing value on ethnic descent and elevating Jerusalem to be the authoritative capital for the people of God. In the same stroke, he places the revelation of the Mosaic law, written of stone tablets, in the period of fading glory, opposite the new creation with its "eternal weight of glory." Once again, Paul's apocalyptic scheme places elements once important in defining the "Israel of God" on the side of the divide opposite the new creation.¹⁷³

4. Conclusion

Galatians 6:15 and 2Cor 5:16 have given us the opportunity to see the theme of "new creation," Paul's *kampfthesis*, at work in two different settings: the questions of how the Gentiles are included in the people of God, and the basis for apostolic authority. In both situations, Paul used the new creation inaugurated through the death of Christ to establish a framework of interpretation based on the resulting apocalyptic dualism. Furthermore, in

¹⁷²The comparison with Jos. As. 15:5 is instructive. Aseneth is told that "from this day (*ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον*)" she will be renewed, formed anew and made alive. She is a "new creature" (as later Rabbis would call proselytes) from the time of her individual conversion; whereas Paul's emphasis is on the inbreaking of the new creation.

The finality of 2Cor 5:17 and Gal 6:15 become all the more evident when compared to 1Cor 7:31, a paraenetic passage based on apocalyptic eschatology: *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*. In contrast to the emphasis on decisive change, 1Cor 7:31 emphasizes the overlap of the ages, the passing away of the old world order as a *ongoing present process* (contra H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 133-4, not so much the world itself, but its patterns, society, powers and structures). See C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1968), 178, G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 342.

¹⁷³In much greater measure than we have space to detail, the entire argument of 2Cor 3-5 is centered around new creation theology and imagery. The gospel goes out into the world as the first light of creation (4:4-6). The believer is progressively transformed into the image of the risen Lord, in increasing glory which, though lost by the first Adam, is restored in the Last Adam (3:18). However, this present glory (treasure) is confined to the inner man while the outer man, man still in flesh (earthen vessels), continues the process of decay (4:7, 16). Through sharing in the cross (in this particular instance, the apostolic sufferings 4:8-12), the full hope of eschatological glory, far beyond comparison, is anticipated (4:17-18). The future will be marked by being fully clothed in resurrection life (5:1-5). As in Galatians, Paul's Adam Christology is the centre of his description of the new creation (5:14, 21). See J. D. G. Dunn, "Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus," in *Reconciliation and Hope* (L. Morris FS; ed. R. J. Banks; Exeter: Paternoster, 1974) 134, 139, *Christology*, 112-113. Also Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 131, Barrett, *2 Corinthians*, 169, Pate, *Adam Christology*, 138-144.

both settings, he addressed the intra-Christian controversy by assigning the placing of value upon ethnic descent and national prerogatives on the side of the divide opposite the new creation. Because the theology of his Jewish-Christian opponents reflected too closely the present emphasis in Judaism on those "works of the Law" which most clearly functioned to divide Jew from Gentile, he draws into the contrast between the new and the old the contrast between the Spirit and the Law. The descriptive language of the new creation is totally inclusive and exclusive, "all" and "no one" taking the place of the language of distinctions, "Jew and Greek," "slave and free." Finally, in taking issue with the authority of the Jerusalem church, Paul undermined the significance of earthly Jerusalem, a significance rooted in its description in Zion theology as the source of creation, as present national capital and eschatological future world centre.

The revolutionary nature of Paul's theology vis-à-vis his own Jewish background is difficult to overestimate. In the hopes expressed in the great majority of Jewish writings we have reviewed, the new creation would be a time where the distinction between Israel and the nations would be seen *at its most clear*, when Zion would be vindicated and exalted, and the righteous, particularly those who had maintained the covenantal distinctions of circumcision, calendar and food laws, would inherit their eschatological reward. It would be a time when that which clouded the special status of Israel in the present - the power of other nations, the sinfulness and impurity within the camp - would be done away with. This eschatological hope was central to the intensifying Jewish nationalism around the time of the writing of Galatians, and there were many who were willing to risk all in the hope that their zeal for the Law and zeal for Israel would bring about the destruction of the Gentiles and the freedom of a new creation. In seeming absolute contrast to his contemporaries, one of the central convictions of Paul's gospel in his mission to the Gentiles was that the significance of the distinction between "circumcision and uncircumcision" belonged to the "old" which had passed away, and that incorporation into the people of God and the authority of the servants of God were to be found exclusively in reference to the new creation inaugurated in the crucified Christ.

SECTION 3. ADAM CHRISTOLOGY AND THE INCLUSION OF THE GENTILES

1. Adam Christology and New Creation

For Paul, the new creation is not only an eschatological event, it is a Christological consequence. "The theology reflected in Galatians is first of all about Jesus Christ and the new creation God has begun in him (1:1-4; 6:14-15)."¹⁷⁴ Deliverance from this present evil age (1:4), from the "world" into the new creation (6:15), is accomplished through the crucified Christ (6:15), the one who "gave himself for our sins" (1:4). Therefore, we turn our attention to Paul's Adam Christology in Galatians.

In some ways, Galatians is a difficult place to start the discussion on the Adam-Christ analogy because this comparison which becomes a central Christological motif in subsequent Pauline writings occurs in Galatians only in substance, but not in "name" (Adam is not mentioned in Galatians). Yet the same theological concepts which we find in Rom 5:12-21 in regards to reconciliation or in 1Cor 15:20-57 with a view to the resurrection are clearly evident in Gal 4:1-7, as well as in other passages like 2Cor 5:14-21, 8:9, Phil 2:5-11, 3:20-21, and Col 1:15-18 where the analogy is only implicit.¹⁷⁵

The representational nature in the act of atonement, "gave *himself* for *our* sins"(1:4), is the starting point of the Adam-Christ analogy. We concur with the conclusion:

...to say that Jesus died as representative of fallen man and to say that Jesus died as sacrifice for the sins of men is for Paul to say the same thing.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel," 149. She continues, "This singular gospel results in a singular transformation for those called as believers, who are themselves in the Spirit (3:1-4; 5:16-25). The new creation results in the nullification of previous identifications, whether these come from within the law (1:11-17) or from outside (4:8-11). ...the governing theological antithesis in Galatians is between Christ or the new creation and the cosmos..." See also Mell, 280, 292.

¹⁷⁵Adam in Romans forms one of the interpretive keys both for Dunn, *Romans*, and Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*. See Dunn, *Romans*, 1,269-70 for a starting-point into the substantial bibliography on Rom 5:12-21. For 2Cor 4:7-5:21, see Pate, *Adam Christology*. For 2Cor 4:6, and the question whether this is Wisdom or Adam Christology, see S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 193ff, and the response from Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles', or 'The End of the Law'? The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 89-107. On Phil 2:5-11, see the history of interpretation in Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 56-99 and P. T. O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991) 263-268. See D. Steenburg, "The Worship of Adam and Christ as the Image of God," *JSNT* 39 (1990) 101-106 for the overlap of Wisdom and Adam ideas in the Christ hymn of Col 1:15-18. Of course, the issue of Adam Christology is addressed in detail by Barrett, *From First*, Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, Jervell, *Imago Dei*, Dunn, *Christology*.

¹⁷⁶Dunn, "Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus," 137. See also M. D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990) 22, 26-27.

Resurrection brings to a completion the Adam-Christ "interchange." He represented humanity in death so humanity can be resurrected with him into new life. He thus becomes ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ, the first-born from the dead. This idea of "interchange," developed particularly by Morna Hooker, sums up aptly what Paul is describing in the Adam-Christ imagery. Irenaeus' words, although belonging to a different context of discussion, encapsulate the meaning well: "Christ became what we are, in order that we might become what he is."¹⁷⁷ We could diagram the concept as follows, attempting also to show the eschatological overlap of being both in Christ and in Adam in the present time:

Adam as God intended -> Adam in his disobedience
him to be under God's judgment

Christ the righteous one
sharing in the consequences
of Adam's failure

-> Christ exalted and vindicated,
fulfilling and transcending
God's intention in creating
humanity.

Humanity in Adam->Humanity in Christ,->Humanity in Christ,
but still in Adam resurrected.

Putting it in the language of Rom 8 (which seems to reflect the LXX of Gen 1:26 - κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν), in order to inaugurate the new creation (Rom 8:18-25), the Son was sent *in our likeness* (ἐν ὁμοιώματι, v 3) so that we might become conformed *to his image* (τῆς εἰκόνης, v 29). Or one could, like Hooker, adopt the terms of Phil 2-3: "the one who was found in the *form* of a slave and the *fashion* of a man, who *humiliated* himself to a shameful death, is going to *refashion* our body of *humiliation*, *conforming* it to his own body of glory."¹⁷⁸

2. Adam in Israel, Israel in Adam

In Gal 4:1-7, Paul utilizes Adam Christology specifically to address the issue of how Gentiles are incorporated into the people of God. In doing so, as we shall see, he turns the tables on the widely held assumptions about the relationship of Israel to Adam found in many contemporaneous Jewish writings. While developing the metaphor of being "heirs

¹⁷⁷Against Heresies, V Praef: 'factus est quod sumus nos, uti nos perficeret esse quod est ipse'. Cited by Hooker, *From Adam*, 22. Compare Odes Sol 7:4 (Trans. Charlesworth, *OTP*) "He became like me, that I might receive Him. In form, He was considered like me, that I might put Him on."

¹⁷⁸Hooker, *From Adam*, 36.

according to promise" (3:29), 4:1-7 also serves to recapitulate the themes of 3:23-9.¹⁷⁹ The previous time was marked by constraining forces (under the law - 3:23-24, under guardians and stewards, slaves to the cosmic elements - 4:1-3) but the time of faith in Christ ended the era in which those forces held sway (3:25, 4:4) so that those incorporated by the Spirit into Christ (3:27, 4:5) have received divine sonship and are heirs of God's promises (3:29, 4:5-7). In Gal 4:1-7, Paul brings to the forefront once again the distinction between the ages: the previous time while slaves, the "fullness of time" as sons. God's sending his Son brings about the change in eschatological time. The purpose of this act is redemption (v 5), the consequence of justification is the reception of the Spirit of the Son (v 6).

In Gal 4:4-6, Paul unpacks the Christological centre of the new creation.

- 4 ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου,
 ἐξάπεστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,
 γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός,
 γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον,
 5 ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ,
 ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.
 6 "Ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί,
 ἐξάπεστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον, Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ.

The interchange aspect of Paul's Adam Christology is evident from the grammatical structure itself: God sent forth his Son in the fullness of time so He could in turn send forth the Spirit of the Son into our hearts; the Son was born "from woman" so that we might receive divine adoption; the Son was born under Law to redeem those under its condemnation.¹⁸⁰ "Born of woman" was another way of saying "human," Christ born "in Adam."¹⁸¹

For our study, the key phrase is "born of woman, *born under the Law*." The Christological declaration of Paul places the law in the realm of slavery, not sonship, and those born under the law in need of redemption. Possession of the law of the covenant does

¹⁷⁹See Dunn, *Galatians*, 210.

¹⁸⁰See further Barrett, *From First*, 88-89, Dunn, *Christology*, 38-44, 112-113, *Galatians*, 115-118, *Partings*, 191-195, Hooker, *From Adam to Christ*, 16-18, 34, Kim, *The Origin*, 277-8.

¹⁸¹E.g. Job 14:1, 15:14, 24:4, 1QS 11:20f, 1QH 13:14, 18:12f, 16. For additional references see Dunn, *Christology*, 40, F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9; Freiburg: Herder, 1974) 269, Betz, *Galatians*, 207 n. 55. Similar in intent is the phrase "ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας" (in the very likeness of sinful flesh) found in Rom 8.3, the other example of the "sent His Son" formula in Paul's writing. See Dunn, *Romans*, 1.421.

not indicate sonship - sonship is defined exclusively by reception of the Spirit of the Son (4:5-6, the Spirit of adoption - Rom 8:15). The Adam Christology of Gal 4:4 addresses both Adam in his fallenness and fallen Israel in Adam. The Messiah came not only to redeem Israel and lead her to a place of glorification, he came to represent all in Adam. And those in Adam, those under the judgment of death, those lacking the glory of God, includes Israel, because Israel is yet in fallen Adam.¹⁸² The implication for the Galatian situation is clear: because Israel is on the Adam side of the apocalyptic divide, as people of the new creation it was futile to seek progress by reverting to Israel "in the flesh."

A contrast is clearly seen between Paul's application of the creation story and the trend we witnessed in Jewish interpretation in the Second Temple Period. Throughout the intertestamental period, various writers in Judaism attempted in the various ways we have documented to claim Adam as patriarch of Israel: Jews (or the righteous within Judaism) were the exclusive heirs to Adam's dominion over the world, his wisdom, the creation blessing, his priestly function, and in particular, his glory. Paul allowed this identification of Adam and Israel, but turns the tables on its significance. While intended to be heirs to Adam's purpose, dominion and glory, Israel instead became heir to his transgression and condemnation, a failure emphasized by the Law itself.¹⁸³ The era of Israel is still the era of Adam, the physical sons of Abraham are the sons of Adam. Adam as patriarch of Israel "benefits" them in the same way it does for all in Adam: they live in a realm marked by transgression and death.¹⁸⁴ Being in Adam, Israel finds herself on common ground with the Gentiles.

In our study of Gen 1-3, we noted that although these chapters are by intent not nationalistic in their immediate context, within the wider context of the Pentateuch there is a clear interrelationship between the promise of primal time and the purpose of election history. The benefits which Jewish writers in the intertestamental period claimed that Israel derived from Adam are transferred by Paul exclusively to Christ (and those who also inherit

¹⁸²Similarly, Wright, *Messiah*, 26-27.

¹⁸³Wright, *Messiah*, 95-6, *Climax of the Covenant*, 37.

¹⁸⁴Compare the comment by Wright, *Messiah*, 152: "The problem of Romans is not 'the hidden Jew in all of us', but 'the hidden Adam in Israel.'"

in him). But having taken on the purpose of Adam, he makes not only those in Israel, but all in Adam who place faith in the Last Adam a part of the new creation.¹⁸⁵ Remnant theology, the focus on sectarian definitions of righteousness continued to narrow the confines of the claim to the glory of Adam: what was intended for humanity, then for the elect nation, now belonged as a hope to the faithful among the elect. But in Paul's Christology, Jesus, as Last Adam, is the "one" who opens the way for the many. Adam Christology becomes a "boundary breaker" in that the revelation of Christ, the Last Adam, has a two-fold result: it includes Israel with the Gentiles in fallen Adam, then declares the means where all who were formerly identified as Jews and Gentiles can transfer into the new creation.

3. Sharing in the Spirit of the Last Adam

The reception of the Spirit is the primary result of this soteriological act. Paul's emphasis that it is "the Spirit of the Son" shows the completion of the idea of interchange.¹⁸⁶ The possibility of receiving the Spirit is directly related to having been freed from the condemnation of the Law, as is emphasized by the parallel nature of Gal 3:13-14,

¹⁸⁵There has been a recent revival of scholarly opinion in support of interpreting the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ as meaning the faith(fullness) of Christ. Prominent in the debate has been R. B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11* (SBLDS 56; Chico: Scholars, 1983), M. D. Hooker, "Πίστις Χριστοῦ," in *From Adam*, 165-86, Longenecker, *Galatians*, 87-88, 145 following through on his earlier *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964) 149-52 and "The Obedience of Christ," in *Reconciliation and Hope* (L. Morris FS; ed. R. J. Banks; Exeter: Paternoster, 1974) 142-52. The central thrust of this line of interpretation, individual nuances aside, is that it is a reference to the obedient (covenantal) faithfulness of Jesus to God, particularly unto death, with a representative soteriological implication that those in Christ come to share in his faithfulness, come to be justified with him. This would be a very attractive aspect to add to Paul's Adam Christology, giving a wider narrative substance to the Adam-Christ comparison (already present in Phil 2:6-11, and evident in elements of this typology in the Gospels). However, the hesitations raised by J. D. G. Dunn, "Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," in *SBL 1991 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 730-744 still need to be addressed. Particularly important for Galatians is the question of how are the Gentiles justified if not by "faith in Christ" as opposed to "works of the Law." If we have the "faithfulness of Christ" only in view, how do they come to share in the verdict upon the Jewish Messiah? See also the arguments with regards to Paul's editing the citation of Hab 2:4 put forth by C. H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988) 55-56. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 66 argues that 1QpHab 8:1 and 4QMMT expound upon Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4, and that these passages link faith in the Teacher of Righteousness and the doing of "deeds of the law."

¹⁸⁶See section 4.1 below.

4:4-6 and Rom 8:3-4, 8:15-17.¹⁸⁷ Redemption "is seen primarily in terms of moving from the sphere of Adam to the sphere of Christ."¹⁸⁸

Although Paul's argument began with the question "who are the sons of Abraham," the section reaches its conclusion with the declaration of those redeemed by Christ to be "sons of God." Thus, Paul responds to the questions raised by the opponents in the language of the opponents (incorporation into Abraham) but concludes the argument with the implication of Adam Christology. Because Christ is the seed, then those in Christ are also Abraham's seed (3:29). But beyond this, because Christ is the Son, then those in Christ become sons of God (3:26, 4:5-7).

4. The Jewish Context for Adam Christology: the Overlap of Primal Time and Election History

As noted, in emphasizing Israel's participation in Adam's fallenness, Paul cuts against the grain of current Jewish interpretation. Yet in doing so, Paul stands within a tradition of Jewish interpretation that seems to reach back to the Fall narrative itself in the Pentateuch. As we saw in our brief overview of Gen 1-3, some scholars postulate a correspondence between the final version of the story of Gen 2-3 and the experience of exile for Israel. That is to say, the story of the disobedience of the first man provided the archetypal picture by which Israel could understand the consequences of covenantal unfaithfulness, and at the same time, Israel's experience of the exile helped to shape the paradigmatic story of the sin and death of all humans. For understanding Paul, it is not of real value to question whether or not we are dealing with a 10th century composition (early J) edited by the heirs to that tradition (later J) or by post-exilic priestly scribes (P), or something composed in the post-exilic period (late J), etc. What we can say with certainty is that it would have been impossible in the post-exilic period not to feel the overlap between primal sin and covenantal judgment, and as primal time makes its intended transition to election history, to hear the promise to Abraham to bless the nations without recalling the

¹⁸⁷Dunn, *Galatians*, 216-18, Hooker, *From Adam*, 16-18.

¹⁸⁸Hooker, *From Adam*, 41, see Sanders, *PPJ*, 463- 472.

critique in the Servant Songs of a nationalism which must be tempered with the universal dimension of being "a light to the nations."¹⁸⁹ How could those who had experienced the exile not have read Gen 2-3 from within the context of their profound experience? And would they not have seen their experience as an example of that archetypal sin? In a very real way, this is the same critique made by Paul, a Jew within Judaism, to those in Israel who had forgotten the lessons of the exile, the experience of the curse of the Law.¹⁹⁰ The Law, meant to guard life, when transgressed serves instead to condemn. Israel, like Adam, is exiled from the presence of God. Adam, like Israel, is in need of a new creation.

The fluidity of this overlap between Adam's story and Israel's story occurs throughout Paul. An example of Adam's story from the standpoint of Israel's story is Rom 7:7-25, where Adam, whose story provides the framework of the narration, is said to have received the Law (command=law in vv 8, 9, 12).¹⁹¹ At other times, it is Israel's story which is a repetition of Adam's story: the breaking of the covenant through the worship of the Golden Calf replicates the disobedience of Adam to the command of God in Paradise (Rom 1:18ff).¹⁹² The appropriateness of the overlap of Adam's story and Israel's story shows the precise purpose of the primal stories - their timelessness addresses the human condition (in the case of Israel, the covenantal condition) in varied contexts, and the human experience continues to mould and shape the understanding of these stories.¹⁹³

In the intertestamental writings before 70 AD, few, if any in (non-Christian) Judaism seemed to focus on the Fall of Adam as the origin of sin.¹⁹⁴ Most of the emphasis remained upon the story of the Watchers. However, the events of 70 AD caused an intensified

¹⁸⁹See the earlier discussion on Gen 2-3.

¹⁹⁰In Paul's view, both primal time and election history provide typological paradigms for understanding the present (1Cor 9:6).

¹⁹¹For Rabbinic references, see Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 33, 42-43, Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," 60, including n. 69 and Dunn *Romans*, 2.379, who points out that Paul's writings may contain the earliest explicit examples of such references to Adam and the Law. In contrast, Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 226-230 sees 7:1-6 as a reference to Adam (the old man) but 7:7-25 as echoing the Cain story.

¹⁹²See the discussion in Dunn, *Romans*, 1.60-61, with additional bibliography.

¹⁹³Even the inability of scholars to arrive at a consensus of the sequence in which one story influenced the other is a testament to the elusive character of the Adam story: Adam in primal time, Everyman in all times.

¹⁹⁴Again, see Levenson, *Portraits of Adam*, 155-6. Where Adam's fall is mentioned, the consequence is the loss of speech in animals. Although we found, contra Levenson, that WisSol 2:24 does refer to Adam, it should be noted that wisdom preserved Adam in the midst of his transgression (10:1-2).

interest in the Fall narrative as a way of coming to terms with what was perceived as God's judgment, a second exile. Loss of Temple and Land drew the authors of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch back to primal time as a paradigm for present judgment. Paul, a few decades earlier, saw the same verdict of Israel's failure in the crucified and risen Messiah and turned to the story of Adam to understand and explain his gospel: Israel's failure as replicating Adam's failure; the new creation as the salvation of the world.

5. Adam Christology and the Redemption from the Curse of the Law

The sequential phrases "born of woman, born under the Law" are certainly intended to tighten the focus upon Israel's need of redemption. Part of the purpose of Paul in emphasizing the apocalyptic dualism through reference to new creation and to Adam is to show that the very thing his converts are pursuing, full membership in ethnic Israel, belongs to the side opposite completion and fulfillment, opposite the new creation. The most straightforward way to read the phrase "to redeem those under the Law" (ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ) in 4:5 and the parallel phrase "redeemed us from the curse of the Law" (Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου) in 3:13 is with reference to the covenant people, those within the boundaries of ethnic Israel, those "in the Law" (τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ - Rom 3:19, compare Gal 3:11-ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον). Thus, many scholars take the reference to those "under the Law" as being exclusively to Jews. In contrast, the "we" who receive the Spirit and are adopted as sons of God are both Gentiles and Jews in Christ.¹⁹⁵ However, this line of interpretation makes Jewish redemption a *precondition* for Gentile salvation, reflecting the priority of Israel

¹⁹⁵So, *inter alia*, Betz, *Galatians*, 208, Mussner, *Galater*, 270, Hooker *From Adam to Christ*, 14, Donaldson and Wright as cited below. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 172 thinks that both phrases refer primarily to Jews. Bruce, *Galatians*, 196-7, Fung, *Galatians*, 183, Howard, *Crisis*, 39f, Sanders, *PLJP*, 68f, 80 n. 2, S. K. Williams, "Justification and the Spirit in Galatians," *JSNT* 29 (1987) 91f see the reference in both phrases to be both Jew and Greek. Dunn, *Galatians*, 176 states that 3:13 applies to both Jew and Gentile (under the curse of the Law) but that 4:5 refers to Jews only, even though he says these verses are "parallel in thought."

within salvation history.¹⁹⁶ The Messiah was sent to redeem Israel first (by necessity), whose salvation in turn allows the gospel to go out to include "all nations."

But questions can be raised on key points of this interpretation. For instance, Betz, in concluding that the reference is to Jewish Christians only, links the ἡμεῖς of 3:13 back to the ἡμεῖς of 2:15, Paul's address to Peter at Antioch.¹⁹⁷ However, after the direct address to the Galatians and the series of interrogatory sentences posed to them in 3:1-5, it seems most natural that the Galatians would understand ἡμεῖς to refer to the parties of the dialogue: themselves and Paul. After such direct address, would Paul without giving any verbal clues suddenly switch back to an intra-Jewish Christian discussion with the Galatians as the silent observers? Then, in considering the relationship between 3:13 and 14, one questions how the "us (ἡμεῖς)" of v 13 and the "we (λάβωμεν)" of v 14 could refer to two distinctly different groups of people?¹⁹⁸ Another question is whether "those of the works of the Law" (3:13 clearly Jews) are equivalent to those "under Law" (3:23, 4:5) or those "under the Law's curse" (3:10, 13)?¹⁹⁹ One must "possess" the Law to do the "works of the Law," but to be "under Law" could be compared to being under the other "elements of the world," an involuntary situation of bondage.²⁰⁰ Did Paul think that the Law not only determined righteousness within the covenant, but, as a corollary, that it also declared as unrighteous

¹⁹⁶Donaldson, "Galatians 3:13-14," 94-107. Thus also, Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 144-153 develops his extended thesis that because Israel was still in exile (the covenant renewal of Deut 27-30 forming the context for Paul's citation of Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10) they cannot fulfill their purpose of bringing the blessing of Abraham to the nations. But as we shall see, this interpretation is questionable.

Donaldson, "Galatians 3:13-14," 105-6 believes that in Paul's theology "Israel serves as a 'representative sample' for the whole of mankind." Similarly, Wright argues, that in addition to Israel inheriting all of God's purposes for Adam (lost through the Fall), she also had been given the added task of "undoing the plight of Adam" (*Messiah*, 41, also 20-21, 26-7, 32-4, 41, *Climax of the Covenant*, 60-61, see the index for numerous other occurrences of this theme). Thus, Wright portrays Israel as being somehow representative of the cosmos or the nations in the sense that God focuses the sins of the world upon her (*Climax of the Covenant*, 196. Wright continues with Christ as the representative of Israel, the ultimate focus of God's dealing with sin). However, although in Servant theology the righteous remnant represents Israel, where is the proof of a wide-spread idea that Israel's sufferings were somehow redemptive on behalf of the world?

¹⁹⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 148.

¹⁹⁸One of the problems with Donaldson's 2-stage interpretation. Wright's exegesis seems very forced when he interprets "that we might receive the promise of the Spirit" with exclusive reference to Israel (returned from exile). See *Climax of the Covenant*, 143. Certainly, the most probable reference is back to the Galatians' experience of the reception of the Spirit (3:1-5) which forms the backbone of Paul's argument.

¹⁹⁹Note the change in tense between 3:10 and 13: "those who (presently) rely on works of the Law are under a curse; Christ (has already) redeemed us from the Law's curse." Two different groups of people: one presently under a curse, one presently redeemed from the curse.

²⁰⁰Contra Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 143, and Donaldson, "Galatians 3.13-14," 94.

those outside the covenant? As a part of the "elemental things of the cosmos" did it function to condemn on a cosmic scale? It seems that "all outsiders," both those "put out" and those "left out" would be under the Law's curse, because by definition they could not be under covenantal blessing. After all, it was from the perspective of the Law that the verdict "Gentile sinner" was declared (2:15).²⁰¹

Thus, in regards to the question of justification in Gal 2:16, Paul, although speaking as a "Jew by birth," refers to the inability of all humans (both Jew and Gentile) to be justified by "works of the Law."

Gal 2:16

εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου...
ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ.

We should note also the parallelism in Gal 3:22-23 between scripture, which confined all things under sin, and the law, under which "we" were confined until the coming of faith.

Gal 3:22-23

ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν,
...ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς...

All things, everyone and everything within the present evil age, is confined under sin by scripture.²⁰² Thus, those confined under law in the very next phrase would seem to be both Jew and Gentile, unless Paul is drawing a (subtle) distinction between γραφή and νόμος and between τὰ πάντα and the "we" of the next phrase. Certainly, Paul's purpose is to place Jews, who have the Law, under sin. But at the same time it would seem that Gentiles without the Law (both as knowledge for obedience and means of atonement) are also confined by the same Law under sin. Scripture/the Law not only judges Israel, it judges the age and therefore the cosmos. It confines all, both Jew and Gentile, to common ground.²⁰³

²⁰¹We would note that first mentioned under the curse are idolaters (Deut 27:15). Although the warning is directed to those within the covenant (the ultimate act of covenantal disloyalty), is it not applicable to those outside the covenant. Would it not be assumed by most that all who practised such things, including all Gentiles, were no longer in the realm of divine blessing?

²⁰²Betz, *Galatians*, 175, pointing to the equivalent meaning of τοὺς πάντας (all mankind) in Rom 11:32, Dunn, *Galatians*, 194.

²⁰³Similarly, Sanders, *PLJP*, 68-9, 82-83. Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," 62ff applies "under law" to Gentiles only. He points out that the phrase "under law" is absent as a Jewish self-designation from all the writings of the period. His study is valuable for showing the relationship of the Gentiles to the Law. See particularly p 60: "As soon as the Torah is identified with *wisdom*, then all nations are under the Torah as they are under the laws of creation, but as soon as wisdom is identified with *Torah*, then the nations must keep all the laws given to Israel without being part of the covenant God made with Israel."

Perhaps, "we/us" (either ἡμεῖς or the pronoun as indicated by the verb) in Gal 3-4 represents Paul's universalizing of both plight and solution.

A very similar line of thinking is developed in Rom 3:9-23. As indicated by scripture (3:10-18, equals the Law which "speaks" in 3:19) both Jew and Greek are "πάντας ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν" (3:9). The Law speaks to those "within the Law" (Jews) in order that "every mouth (πᾶν στόμα) will be stopped and the whole world (πᾶς ὁ κόσμος) may be held accountable to God" (3:19). The inclusive nature of the condemnation of scripture/the Law is emphasized by the quotation in v 20 of Ps 143:2 (LXX 142:2): διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ..." As Dunn notes, in his citation Paul has changed the phrase from "all the living" (πᾶς ζῶν) to "all flesh," in order to place Israel and her value upon the boundaries of ethnic identity in the realm of the flesh.²⁰⁴ But in another sense, Paul uses Scripture/the Law to bring Israel to where the Gentiles already are *according to scripture*: under sin, silenced in any claim to righteous standing, and accountable to God.²⁰⁵ The Law proves that all "without distinction" are in Adam's plight, all live in the consequence of disobedience, "all have sinned and lack the glory of God" (3:22-3). This theme continues in Romans: it is the conclusion both of the Adam-Christ contrast of Rom 5:11-21 and Paul's interpretation of the role of Israel in the divine timetable of salvation in Rom 11:32.²⁰⁶

Thus, the following conclusion is possible: Paul's point is not that Israel (and not the Gentiles) are under the curse of the Law, but that Israel, like the Gentiles, are under a curse, outside the realm of blessing. Israel was cast out of the Land (exile) just as the nations before her were cast out for their defilement (Lev 18:24-28, 20:22-5), and ultimately (and paradigmatically) as Adam was cast out of Eden for disobedience. Paul used scripture/the Law in Galatians as in Romans to confine *both* Jew and Gentile under sin, into Adam's transgression.²⁰⁷ Once on common ground, he presents the one act of salvation for all in

²⁰⁴Dunn, *Romans*, 1.155.

²⁰⁵The "Law in their hearts" accuses those "who have sinned without the Law," Rom 2:12-15.

²⁰⁶Dunn, *Romans*, 2.677.

²⁰⁷Again, recalling that the Law declared Adam's sin to be a trespass (παράβασις-Rom 5:14), an act of covenantal disobedience.

Adam, no longer making a distinction or priority between Jew and Gentile. God did not so much have to save Israel in order to save the Gentiles (Israel Christology).²⁰⁸ Rather, God in Christ came to save Adam in order to transfer all in Adam (both Jew and Gentile) into the new creation where there is neither Jew nor Gentile. The new creation first declares all in the world, all in Adam, to belong to the same universal plight, to which Adam Christology presents the singular solution.

6. "Put on Christ"

The theme of incorporation is also an aspect of the words "put on Christ."

Gal 3:27

For as many of you as were baptized into Christ
Have put on Christ.

Many scholars have seen in this phrase an allusion to a (proposed) baptism ritual of disrobing before baptism and putting on new garments after immersion. However, the Jewish background of this phrase has been overlooked. "Put on" is a phrase used in the OT to describe divine preparation for salvific actions.²⁰⁹

Isa 59:17-60.3

17 He put on righteousness as a breastplate,
and a helmet of salvation upon his head;
he put on garments of vengeance for clothing,
and wrapped himself in fury as a mantle.
19 So they shall fear the name of the Lord from the west,
and his glory from the rising of the sun;
for he will come like a rushing stream,
which the Spirit of the LORD drives.
20 And he will come to Zion as Redeemer,
to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the LORD.
21 "And as for me, this is my covenant with them," says the LORD.
"My Spirit which is upon you,
and my words which I have put in your mouth,
shall not depart out of your mouth,
or out of the mouth of your children..."

²⁰⁸Contra Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 61, "Both (Adam-Christology and Servant-Christology), in the last analysis, are *Israel-Christologies*."

²⁰⁹See Isa 52:1 where Zion is to prepare for an era of salvation, Isa 42:1, 63:11 (put his Spirit on the Servant), Eze 44:19 (put on, put off Priestly garments).

- 60.1 Arise, shine; for your light has come,
 And the glory of the LORD has risen upon you.
 2 For behold, darkness shall cover the earth,
 and thick darkness the peoples;
 But the LORD will arise upon you,
 and his glory will be seen upon you.
 3 And nations shall come to your light,
 and kings to the brightness of your rising.

Immediately, we notice a number of themes in Isa 59:17-60:3 which occur in the context of Gal 3:27: "put on" (Isa 59:17/Gal 3:27), redemption (Isa 59:20/Gal 3:13, 4:5),²¹⁰ Spirit and the renewal of Abraham's covenant (Isa 59:21/Gal 3:14-15, also 3:1-4, 4:6-7),²¹¹ new creation and the salvation of the Gentiles (Isa 59:19/Gal 3:28, also 3:8, 14, Isa 60:1-3, compare Gen 1:2-5),²¹² all of this a reflection of the inbreaking of the eschatological new creation in both Isaiah and Galatians. Thus, to put on Christ is to stand in eschatological readiness, to see the outworking of present justification in the verdict of the final day. The imminence of the eschaton is used as parenetical motivation in two other references to Isa 59:17-60:3 in Paul's writings. In Rom 13:11-14 putting on divine armour is equated with putting on Christ, and in 1 Thess 5:5-9 Paul charges his converts, "Put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation."²¹³ The light/dark contrast of Isa 60:1-3 is used to describe the apocalyptic dualism between the present age and the eschaton.

A clear parallel to Gal 3:27 is found in Col 3:9-11, a passage which retains the theme of eschatological imminence found in Rom 13:11-14 and 1 Thess 5:5-9 (see Col 3:4-5).²¹⁴ Here, the image of "putting on" is connected to the "new anthropos."

²¹⁰Paul cites Isa 59:20-21 in Rom 11:26-27 as a promise of the end-time salvation of ethnic Israel.

²¹¹We will explore the reference to Abraham's covenant in Isa 59:21 with greater detail below.

²¹²As we have seen, the salvific actions of the Divine Warrior was frequently described in terms of chaos and new creation.

²¹³In 1 Thess 5, Paul goes on to admonish, "pray constantly (v 17)" and "Do not quench the Spirit (v 19)." The association between putting on divine armor with prayer and the activity of the Spirit is developed with greater detail in Eph 6:10-20, the most developed application of Isa 59:17ff.

The image of "putting on" is also applied to the resurrection: 1Cor 15:53-54 (4 times) and 2Cor 5:3. For the "inner man/outer man" comparison in 2Cor as an aspect of Adam Christology, see Pate, *Adam Christology*, 108-111.

²¹⁴Even if the Pauline authorship of Colossians is questioned, these texts are certainly within the same line of thought. See Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 90.

Gal 3:27-8

For as many of you
as were baptized into Christ

have put on Christ.

There is neither Jew nor Greek,

There is neither slave nor free,
There is no male and female;
For you are all one in Christ Jesus.

Col 3:9-11

...since you have put off
the "old anthropos" and its practices

and have put on the "new anthropos,"
which is being renewed in knowledge
after the image of its creator.

Here there cannot be Greek and Jew,
Circumcised and uncircumcised,
barbarian, scythian
slave, freeman

but Christ is all, and in all.

Above all these thing, put on love...
...you were called in the one body.

It is not that fallen humanity is restored - rather the old Adam has been "put off" and an new identity, the νέος ἄνθρωπος, has been "put on."²¹⁵ Moule comments on these Pauline phrases: "they carry deeper, wider and more *corporate* associations, inasmuch as they are part of the presentation of the Gospel in terms of the two 'Adams,' the two creations."²¹⁶ The "νέος ἄνθρωπος" is in the ongoing process of renewal (ἀνακαινούμενον) according to the image of his creator. Although the language of creation (Gen 1:27) is unmistakable, the process of renewal is not simply to be restored to what Adam was, but to be conformed to who Christ is. The "image" of the Creator is not only a general description of humanity created in God's likeness, it refers to a distinct person: "*He* is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation" (Col 1:18). In this sense, "Image of God" almost becomes a proper name. To be renewed "after the Image of its Creator" is the same as to be conformed "to the image of the Son" (Rom 8:29), to have "put on the νέον ἄνθρωπον" is to have "put on Christ" (Gal 3:27, Rom 13:14). Having put on the "νέος ἄνθρωπος" results in ongoing ethical metamorphosis. However, this ethical change is based upon apocalyptic theology, because the νέος ἄνθρωπος also refers to a spatial and temporal realm (ὅπου), the realm described as "things above" (3:2).²¹⁷

²¹⁵Interpreting the two verbs as simple participles describing a past event, not having an imperative sense. See P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians and Philemon* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1982) 188.

²¹⁶C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (CGTC; Cambridge: CUP, 1957) 119. Translations which render it παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος/νέος ἄνθρωπος as "old nature/new nature" open the phrase for misunderstanding, as if Paul was speaking only of the transformation of each individual self.

²¹⁷See O'Brien, *Colossians and Philemon*, 192.

Alongside the ethical emphasis is the theme of incorporation - to have "put on" the νέος ἄνθρωπος is to have been included into the one body of Christ (v 11). The social implications of this apocalyptic transference are the same in Gal 3 and Col 3. Among those who have put on Christ, a new unity has done away with previous distinctions. All are one in Christ, all are the one body of Christ. All these in Christ, Jew and Greek, circumcised and uncircumcised, slave and free are included in the people of God, and are called by covenantal terms previously reserved for ethnic Israel: "seed of Abraham, sons of God" (Gal 3), "elect, holy ones, beloved" (Col. 3). Thus, to "put on the new anthropos" is to inherit God's blessing previously confined within the national and ethnic boundaries of Israel.

In the imperatives, "put to death what is earthly in you," to "put them all away," the immediate reference is to the ethical and moral issues listed in vv 5 and 8. But in light of the statement regarding Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, these things which "belong to the earth" must also include the instructions of Paul's Jewish opponents: "Do not handle, do not taste, do not touch," the "commands and doctrines of man (κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 2:22).²¹⁸ To live concerned with dietary laws and the cultic calendar and Sabbath (2:16, compare Gal 4:10 and the incident at Antioch in Gal 2:11-14) is to live as though still belonging to "the world" (ἐν κόσμῳ, Col 2:20, compare Gal 6:16), under the power of the elemental spirits (τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, Col 2:20, compare Gal 4:3, 9), the principalities and powers disarmed in the cross (Col 2:15). Instead, one has already "put off" the body of flesh "in the circumcision of Christ," a circumcision "made without hands" (Col 2:11). Galatians and Colossians both share Paul's apocalyptic dualism, an understanding of life "in flesh," life "in the world," being expressed both in ethical weaknesses and an overvaluation of ethnic observances, and an understanding of new creation theology which both places the believer in the new creation and eradicates the distinctions of the first creation as Christ is "put on."²¹⁹

²¹⁸In this citation of Isa 29:13, it seems that Paul has moved the words τῶν ἀνθρώπων to the end, emphasizing these words in anticipation of the discussion on the old man/new man which follows.

²¹⁹Eph 4:22-24 bears great similarity to Col 3. Those in Christ are to "put off" the παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον and put on the καινὸν ἄνθρωπον. The καινὸν ἄνθρωπον is "created after the likeness of God" (τὸν κατὰ

Thus the passing reference in Galatians that being baptized into Christ is to have "put on Christ" is a part of Paul's wider use of new creation theology in Galatians. It places those who have faith in Christ within the eschatological hope of Isa 59:17-60:3. Having been redeemed, they receive the Spirit and are incorporated into the new covenant, an act which resembles the dawning of creation light. Furthermore, to "put on Christ" is to put on the "νέος ἄνθρωπος." This means a renewal of ethical ability, as well as the passing away of previous distinctions between Jew and Gentile, slave and free, in the Last Adam. Those who are in the new creation find no value in returning to "works of the Law," for they are numbered among "earthly things."

7. Adam Christology and the Eschatological Tension: Present Suffering, Future Glory

Part of the Pauline paradox is that the eschatological overlap of ages is experienced both on a cosmic scale and on an individual basis as well. Without and within the contrary desires of the Spirit and the flesh battle for superiority. While this conflict is in part ethical, it is also situational, the conflict of the gospel with the world. The chief example of the eschatological tension is the crucified Christ: man dying in Adam, man participating in the inauguration of the new creation.

Thus, as Christ in Adam suffered, so those in Christ continue to suffer in Adam, for Adam. Note the implication of the perfect tense of Gal 2:19 and 6:14:²²⁰

θεὸν κτισθέντα) in a process characterized by the idea of renewal (ἀνανεοῦσθαι - basically synonymous with ἀνακαινοῦσθαι - Col 3:10, see A. T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Waco: Word, 1990) 286). The writer of Eph had earlier stressed that the "one new man" is made up of Jew and Gentile (2:15). This unifying work of salvation is an act of creation. (See the extended discussion in M. Barth, *Ephesians* (2 vols.; AB 34; New York: Doubleday, 1981) 1.308-11. The people of God as God's creation is introduced in Eph 2:10.) The flow of thought in Eph 2:11-18 is extremely close to that found in Gal 3:23-4.7 In Christ, those formerly separated from each other have been created anew as one. Through the cross, the Law no longer has power to divide. Note particularly the similarity of ideas in describing the relationship between those in the new creation and God in Eph 2:18 and Gal 4:6.

²²⁰As Dunn, *Galatians*, 144 translates to enunciate the force of the perfect, "I have been nailed to the cross with Christ, and am still hanging there with him). For the relationship between the "suffering of the cross" and the Spirit, see Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 184-7 and Pate, *Adam Christology*, 92ff. On Adam Christology and suffering, see Wright, *Messiah*, 137, Hooker, *From Adam*, 40.

Χριστῷ συνεσταυρωμαι·

...ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ κόσμῳ.

For Paul, the clearest "membership badge" of belonging to the people of the new creation, the Israel of God, is both to bear the Spirit which raised Jesus from the dead and to share in the sufferings of the cross, the birth pangs of the new creation.²²¹ More than any revelation of present glory (which is at best partial, but in all likelihood belongs to a fading age), present suffering is for Paul the sign *par excellence* of belonging to the new creation in Christ. The very persecution for the cross of Christ his opponents are so anxious to avoid (6:12) is where Paul places his boast. The "marks of Jesus on my body" become Paul's closing argument in the case he presents for the gospel of the new creation (6:16-17).²²²

²²¹It is those who are "according to the Spirit" which are persecuted by those "according to the flesh," Gal 4:29. However, Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 83-84 points out that "persecute" (διώκειν) is never used elsewhere in the NT for internal strife among Christians, thus making Paul's polemic against his opponents especially pointed.

²²²P. S. Minear, "The Crucified World: The Enigma of Galatians 6:14," in *Theologia Crucis - Signum Crucis* (E. Dinkler FS; ed. C. Anderson and G. Klein; Tübingen: Mohr, 1979) 400 notes that Paul's στίγματα stand in contrasting irony to his opponents desire to circumcise the Galatians and boast "in your flesh." The marks of Paul's persecution may very well have been the result of his receiving the thirty-nine stripes in discipline/persecution (to which Paul submitted voluntarily by continuing to participate in synagogue life) for insisting on bringing Gentiles in as full covenant members of the people of God without performing works of the Law. See Sanders, "Paul on the Law," 87, 89 ("punishment implies inclusion"), and also J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan, 1890) 225.

SECTION 4: THE NEW CREATION AND THE SPIRIT OF THE SON

1. Introduction: The Galatians' Experience of the Spirit

A central aspect of Paul's argument against the Galatians adopting the practice of "works of the Law" is their own experience of the Spirit. The Galatians had received the Spirit (Gal 3:2, 14, 4:6) and experienced the divine presence both as miraculous power (3:5)²²³ and as ethical ability (5:16-25). In personal experience and perhaps in gathered celebration, the Spirit of the Son expressed through them the truth of their newfound relationship with God.²²⁴ The Spirit confirms one's adoption into the family of God by articulating the intimate sense of filial belonging and acceptance in the word most characteristic of Jesus' own prayers, "Abba!"²²⁵ The Spirit had continued to be active in the congregation since the very inception of their faith in the crucified Christ which Paul had proclaimed to them.²²⁶

The Galatians were well aware of the ongoing manifestation of the Spirit in their lives and in their gathering.²²⁷ However, they failed to understand the theological implications of their charismatic experiences.²²⁸ The fact that the Galatians were responding

²²³Compare 1Cor 2:4. See further D. J. Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia: Paul's Interpretation of Pneuma as Divine Power* (SBLDS 49; Chico: Scholars, 1980) 69-70.

²²⁴E. Käsemann, "The Cry for Liberty in the Worship of the Church," in *Perspectives on Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 122-137.

²²⁵J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1967) 11-65, *New Testament Theology 1: The Proclamation of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1971) 61-8, 197.

²²⁶Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 94 explains the expression "hearing with faith" as hearing-heeding. The Spirit is received through hearing the word proclaimed, not through the rite of baptism, a point made particularly by Lull, 12, 56.

The visible manifestation of the Spirit's presence among the Gentiles possibly forms part of the proof for Paul's gospel and mission in his visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2:7, 9). See Dunn, *Galatians*, 105, Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 98.

²²⁷There is no sign, as some have postulated, that the Spirit's presence had waned in Galatians. See Lull, 38.

²²⁸In church history, theological reflection most frequently *follows* religious experience.

According to Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, the issue in Gal 3 is not how the Gentiles are incorporated into the covenantal people of God, but how they can maintain the Spirit's activity in their lives and community (43ff). Paul's opponents, arguing from Lev 18:5 (Gal 3:11), taught that Torah-observance was the Scriptural means of insuring ongoing participation in the Spirit (87-118). Paul attempts to counteract this teaching by showing that because they are sons, they are therefore heirs of the promise to Abraham. Thus, the emphasis is not on incorporation or sonship, but upon inheritance and (realized) heirship (52-3). Cosgrove's study is extremely helpful in showing the centrality of the Galatians experience of the Spirit (Gal 3:1-4) to the argument of chapter 3. However, it seems to me that Paul was arguing in the other direction. Clarifying that their experiences of the Spirit were an aspect of inheriting the promises of

to the invitation to become full proselytes (accept circumcision, observe works of the Law) shows that they had failed to see two central implications of their experience of the Spirit.

1. They were already incorporated in a new covenant into the redefined "people of God." The presence of the Spirit was a sign that the new creation had been inaugurated in their midst.²²⁹ Their experience signified an eschatological reality, a reality which redefined and transcended the concepts and practices of previous times.
2. Keeping the Law was not a step towards perfection, but a step back to the realm of the flesh. To return to the flesh through an emphasis on works of the Law would be to lose the vitality of their present experience of the Spirit among them. The very vitality of the Spirit's presence experienced would be reduced to nothing (εἰκῆ - 3:4) if they tried to add works of the Law.²³⁰

In what way is the theme of the Galatians' experience of the Spirit connected to Paul's depiction of the inbreaking of the new creation? Specifically, how does Paul use creation imagery and theology to help explain how the Spirit is a sign that Gentiles were incorporated into the people of God apart from works of the Law?

2. New Creation, New Covenant and the Promise of the Spirit

2.1 Justification and Spirit

Paul begins his attempts to convince the Galatians that because they already possess the Spirit they are *de facto* full members of the people of God by showing that their hearing the gospel with faith (3:5) is "just like" (καθώς) Abraham's response of faith to God's promise declared to him (3:6).²³¹ Because of Abraham's faith (apart from works of the

Abraham, the fact that they were enjoying life as heirs meant that certainly they were also "sons of Abraham."

²²⁹Here applying what N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (C. H. Dodd FS; Cambridge: CUP, 1956) 432 calls "a coincidence of eschatological doctrine and actual experience, where eschatology is 'realized', and 'reality'... is eschatologically interpreted."

²³⁰Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 46, also Lull, 38.

²³¹Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 93-95.

Law), God declared him to be in right covenantal relationship. Therefore, those of like faith (including the Galatians) share this same covenantal standing: they are justified (3:8) and stand in a position of covenantal blessing (3:8-9, 14, as opposed to curse, 3:10-13).²³²

Paul first associated the Galatians' sharing in Abraham's covenantal status (a righteous verdict, a position to receive blessing) with their reception of the Spirit. Paul argues from their experience of the Spirit that because they have received the promise of the Spirit (3:1-5), they must already share in the blessing of Abraham (3:14).²³³ How does Paul arrive at this association between Gentiles being included in righteous covenantal standing and their reception of the Spirit?

I believe that Paul's association of the Spirit with the new covenant as new creation provides the background to his argument in Gal 3-4. In particular, Isa 59:21 and Joel 3:1-5 underpin the flow of thought through Galatians 3.

2.2 The Eschatological Spirit: New Covenant as New Creation in Judaism

As we saw earlier with greater detail in our survey of creation themes in the OT, the new covenant/renewed covenant promised by the OT prophets was connected with the coming of the Spirit of Yahweh upon the people of Israel in a new, personalized dimension. For instance, in Eze 36:27-8, the promise "I will put My Spirit within you" is followed by the covenant formula "So you will be My people, and I will be your God." Similarly, in Joel 3:1-5, the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh is the consequence of covenant renewal.²³⁴

²³²Understanding Abraham's blessing not merely as God's promises to him, but promises based on his right covenantal standing - similar to the promises of blessing for those who keep the commands and the vow of curses to those who are unfaithful in Deut 28 ff.

²³³Agreeing with Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 91, contra Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 49-51, 63, who identifies the blessing of Abraham with the gift of the Spirit. The "blessing" is the sign of the verdict of covenantal standing, the Spirit is the content of the promise/inheritance. However, because justification and the reception of the Spirit are so closely associated in Paul, the distinction is probably artificial. See too Lull, 153-4.

²³⁴H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 65. The reaffirmation of the covenant is part of the "recognition formula."

Joel 2:27-3:2 (Ev 2:27-29)²³⁵

27 You shall know that I am in the midst of Israel,
and that *I, the LORD, am your God* and there is none else.
And *my people* shall never again be put to shame.

- 1 And it shall come to pass afterward,
that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh;
your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
your old men shall dream dreams,
and your young men shall see visions.
- 2 Even upon the menservants and maidservants
in those days, I will pour out my spirit.

The pouring out of the Spirit upon the nation of Israel was in the OT a sign of the inauguration of a new (renewed) covenant. Yet, it is important to note that this act of salvation is frequently tied to the renewal of the Land. The parallel between pouring out of water to renew the Land and the pouring out of the Spirit to renew the people of Israel is evident in Joel 2:23-3:1 (the early and latter rains restoring Israel from the aftermath of the "army of locusts," the promise of the Spirit noted above) as well as in Isa. 44:2-5 ("pour water on the thirsty Land," "pour my Spirit upon your descendants"). In a similar way, Eze 36:8-38 depicts a restoration where God will put His Spirit in Israel (36:27) and make the desolated land "like the garden of Eden" (36:35). In Isa 32:15, when the Spirit is poured out on Israel, the wilderness becomes fertile ground. In Eze 37:11-14, the explanation of the vision of the valley of dry bones, links together the pouring out of God's Spirit with a restoration to the Land, as does Eze 11:17-20, 39:28-29.²³⁶ Thus the pouring out of the Spirit, because it is tied so closely to the renewal of the Land, was an event which specifically accompanied the restoration of *Israel*. An important aspect of the new creation was a literal renewal of the creation, a restoration of the Land of Israel to a state of Paradise. It was because new covenant was linked to the renewal of the Land, that new covenant could be understood as a "new creation." This nationalistic element of "new creation" is also evident in the fact that in a number of the OT references we reviewed earlier (Isa. 32:15-33:4, Eze 36:1-36, Eze 39:28-29, Joel 2:4 Zech 12:9-10), the pouring out of the Spirit is part of the acts of salvation which also include the defeat of hostile Gentile nations.

²³⁵Henceforth, we will use the numbering of the MT and LXX, not the English version.

²³⁶Compare Zech 12:10 "I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem a spirit of compassion and supplication..."

This ethnocentric orientation of the new creation and the promise of the Spirit continued in intertestamental Judaism. Although few passages in the intertestamental literature focus on the coming of the Spirit in the eschatological age, two of the most explicit continue the association of new creation, the Spirit, and the restoration of Israel. We have looked at 1QS 4:2-26 in an earlier chapter. It described the eschatological future of those who walk according to the spirit of truth or the spirit of falsehood. For those who walk according to the spirit of truth (the covenanters), the end-time visitation will be a time of healing, peace, fruitfulness and blessing (4:6-8). Through the Spirit, described successively as the Spirit of Holiness, the Spirit of Truth, and the Spirit of Purification, the righteous will be cleansed from all evil (4:21-22). They will inherit "all the glory of Adam" (4:23) at the time of the new creation (4:25). As we saw in our earlier study, the "glory of Adam" has the idea both of splendor as well as of inheriting the Land/earth. But those who walk according to the Spirit of Truth are a small remnant within ethnic Israel. As the text continues in 5:1-3, the promise of the eschatological Spirit is for those who

separate from the congregation of the men of falsehood and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of the men of the Community, who hold fast to the Covenant.

The anti-Gentile feelings of the Qumran community are well known. The Spirit is the possession of those who perform "the deeds of the Law."

The association of the Spirit, New Creation and the vindication of Israel is clearly seen in Jubilees 1. On hearing the foretelling of how Israel will sin and come under judgment, Moses petitions God to not "deliver them into the hand of their enemy, the Gentiles" (1:20): "Create for them an upright spirit," "create a pure heart and a holy spirit for them" (1:20-21). God promises,

- 23 I shall cut off the foreskin of their hearts
and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants. (Deut 10:16, 30:6).
And I shall create for them a holy spirit,
and I shall purify them... (Ps 51:10, Eze 36)
- 24 And I shall be a father to them, and they will be sons to me.
- 25 And they will all be called 'sons of the living God.'
(Hos 1:10, Deut 14:1)
- And every angel and spirit will know and acknowledge
that they are my sons and I am their father...
And I shall love them.
- 28 And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel
and the father of all the children of Jacob
and king upon Mount Zion forever and ever.
And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy.
- 29 ...[This will occur on] the day of the new creation when the heaven
and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed...

We see here many themes found in Galatians: the recognition that beyond the issue of physical circumcision, what is needed is the circumcision of the heart (Jub 1:23/Gal 5:6, much more explicitly, Rom 2:29); through the creation of a holy spirit (Holy Spirit?) one is purified from sinful propensities (Jub. 1:23/Gal 5:16-23),²³⁷ the celebration of divine adoption (Jub 1:25, 28/Gal 3:26, 4:1-7, 4:21-5:1); all of the above which takes place at the new creation (Jub 1:29/Gal 6:15). From the sampling of OT cross-references in the citation of the text above, these themes are part and parcel of Judaism. The difference between the interpretation of the Hebrew scripture by the author of Jubilees and the apostle Paul and their different understandings of the "new creation" lie in the distinction between restoration and redefinition. For the author of Jubilees, the new creation is a restoration of "all the children of Jacob" (v 28), "all the elect of Israel" (v. 29), the physical "descendants" of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (v 5-7), particularly from the effect of intermingling with the Gentiles (Jub 22:16, also 6:32-38, 23:16-21). For Paul, the new creation redefines the very meaning of the terms "sons of Abraham" and "the Israel of God" in a way which includes the Gentiles by transcending the former distinction between Jew and Gentile. Thus, the presence of the Spirit not only defines eschatological time, the inbreaking of the New Creation, it also redefines the boundaries of the eschatological people of God.²³⁸

²³⁷In the OT, the gift of the Spirit is frequently described in terms of water ("pouring out"), water which cleanses from past sins and which is the source of renewed living (Eze 36:35-26, Isa 32:15, 44:3).

²³⁸In Acts, Luke utilizes Joel 3:1-5 to provide the theological background to the experience of Pentecost. Yet, in comparing Paul with Luke, we can detect a difference in emphasis between the two. For Luke, the reception of the Spirit is very much centered in Jerusalem/Zion. The OT idea of the regathering of the

2.3 Spirit, the Promise to Abraham, and the New Creation in Galatians

In our discussion of Adam Christology, we examined the high degree of thematic integration between Isa 59:17-60:3 and Gal 3. We noted at that time the theme of the salvation of the Gentiles (Isa 59:19, 60:1-3) which surrounds the promise of the Spirit (59:21). Especially pertinent for our discussion at this point is that the words of covenant renewal in Isa 59:21 look back specifically to the covenant of Abraham in Gen 17:4, a point noted by some Isaiah scholars.²³⁹

Isa 59:21	καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, εἶπεν κύριος...
Gen 17:4	καὶ ἐγὼ ἰδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ ἔση πατὴρ πλήθους ἐθνῶν.

In contrast to other associations of the Spirit with covenant renewal, Isa 59:21 brings together the renewal of the *Abrahamic* covenant with the promise of the presence of the Spirit. Furthermore, the emphasis in Isa 59:21 is upon Yahweh's promise that his Spirit and his words will forever remain with the future descendants of Israel ("your children," "your children's children"). For Paul, Abraham's children are those born "according to the Spirit," not "according to the flesh" (Gal 4:29, cf. 4:6).²⁴⁰ In Gal 3-4, Paul is clearly using Abraham as a universalizing figure, as the way to separate the keeping of the Mosaic law from covenantal standing and inclusion in the people of God. It seems likely that in

dispersed tribes and the pilgrimage of the nations (*Völkerfahrt*) to Zion possibly stands in the background of Luke's description of Pentecost. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Acts* (New Clarendon Bible; London: OUP, 1967) 62, postulates that the best OT background of Pentecost is Isa 66:15ff, the gathering of the nations around Zion and the idea that there would be only one language spoken in the End-Times (reversing Gen 11). Compare TJud 25.3. S. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSM 23; Cambridge: CUP, 1973) 127-128 proposes that the original tradition behind the Lukan redaction concerned this apocalyptic event. Whether or not the pilgrimage to Zion is the immediate background to Acts 2, Luke intends to make the point that the new creation finds its inception in Jerusalem, with the twelve as representatives of Israel, and their activity centered at the Temple. See J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1975) 160-1.

The Israel orientation of Acts 2 is seen in comparison to the Western Text (D), which universalizes this passage in contrast to LXX and B. In D, "all flesh" is changed to the plural, and your sons and your daughter (ὑμῶν-the Jews) is changed to "their sons and their daughter (αὐτῶν-the Gentiles) See H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 19-20.

²³⁹So R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 228, and C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament* (10 vols.; translated by J. Martin; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 7B.408. Although the MT reads אִתָּם, the 1QIs^a reads אִתָּם (with them), a rendering supported by the LXX and various Heb manuscripts. See Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 286.

²⁴⁰Noted by Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 96.

reflecting on Gen 17:4ff and Isa 59:17-60:3, texts which Paul refers to elsewhere in his writings,²⁴¹ Paul linked together the covenantal blessing of Abraham (the sign of his right standing with God) and the incorporation of the Gentiles into Abraham's family (Gen 17:4ff) with the eschatological gift of the Spirit as part of the result of the renewal of Abraham's covenant (Isa 59:21).

The renewed covenant brings about a restoration to righteous standing (justification) before God. The reception of the Spirit, the sign of both the presence of the new covenant and the new verdict, is the fulfillment of the promised blessings of Abraham to the nations.²⁴² From the starting point of the Galatians' reception of the Spirit (3:1-5), Paul develops the central thrust of Galatians 3: through faith in Christ, Gentiles (3:8, 14) become sons of Abraham (3:7, 29), are brought into righteous covenantal standing (3:8), receive the blessing of Abraham and the promised Spirit (3:9), are incorporated into the people of God as sons of God (3:26) and become heirs of the promises of Abraham (3:29). The Galatians' reception of the Spirit indicates both incorporation and justification, their inclusion in the people of the new covenant and their righteous standing before God. The presence of the eschatological Spirit of the new covenant declares that the new creation has been inaugurated. Therefore, as those who have been transferred from the present evil age into the new creation, any attempts to reach completion through works of the Law are a step back into the realm of the flesh.

The new creation both establishes new divisions in the present time (the dualism of realms and ages, the division between flesh and Spirit, under Law and in Christ, in slavery or freedom) and transcends former social distinctions. We examined above the promise of

²⁴¹1 Thess 5:5-9, Rom 13:11-14, Gal 3:27/Isa 59:17 "put on" - discussed above; Rom 11:26-27/Isa 59:20-21 "A redeemer from Zion" - See R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 46; Rom 4:18/Gen 17:4ff "a father of many nations."

²⁴²For Paul, to have received the Spirit is the sign *par excellence* of being "in Christ" through faith (Rom 8:9, "Any one who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him"). To receive the Spirit is to be a part of the people of God. Isa 32:15-17 brings together eschatological righteousness and the eschatological Spirit. For the association of Spirit and covenantal righteousness, see Williams, "Justification and the Spirit," 96-98, N. A. Dahl, "Promise and Fulfillment," in *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 133.

the Spirit in Joel 3 as a part of the hope of the new creation. A notable aspect of this prophecy is that the outpouring of the Spirit would find no distinction between young and old, male or female, or slave or free. The entire nation of Israel would be prophets and seers, fulfilling the hope of Moses in Num 11:29.²⁴³ In his use of Joel 3, Paul develops the already inclusive emphasis of Joel 3, the Spirit poured out on "all flesh" (πᾶσαν σάρκα), salvation coming to "all who call" (3:5 - πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται), by interpreting "all" not as "all Israel" but all humanity without distinction. In Romans 10:11-13, Paul cites Joel 3:5 to prove his point that for both Jew and Greek, without distinction, salvation is the result of confessing Jesus as Lord.

- 11 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή·
 πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασυνθῆσεται.
 12 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἑλλήνου,
 ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κύριος πάντων πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας
 τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν·
 13 πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

Except for the addition of the linking word "γάρ," Rom 10:13 is a verbatim citation of the LXX of Joel 3:5.²⁴⁴ In similar fashion to his argument in Rom 3:21-30 that because God is one (the one God of both Jews and Gentiles) there is no distinction (3:22-διαστολή) between Jew and Gentile (all have sinned and all who place faith in Christ will be justified),²⁴⁵ in Rom 10:11-13 Paul utilized the acknowledgment that the "same Lord is Lord of all" to again assert his claim that there was no distinction (10:12-διαστολή) between Jew and Gentile. The repetition of the word πᾶς is obvious and deliberate,²⁴⁶ and it emphasizes that Paul interpreted Joel 3:1-5 in a universalistic fashion: "all flesh" who receive

²⁴³In Rabbinic literature, the prophecy of Joel 3 is considered a promise to all Israel in the world to come as a fulfillment of the hope of Num 11:29. See *MidrPs* 14, Braude Edition 186, SB 2.615-6. *DeutRab* 6:14 says that in the world to come that the Evil Inclination would be uprooted from among Israel, and, citing Joel 3, that the Shekinah would be restored. The association of glory and Spirit is noteworthy. *LamRab* 2:4 (60:7.C) draws together Zech 12:10 and Eze 39:29 with Joel 3:1-2, all which anticipate an outpouring of God's Spirit upon Israel. These passages confirm that ethnic boundaries of the outpouring of the Spirit in the world to come. "All flesh" equals "all Israel."

²⁴⁴As Dunn, *Romans*, 2.611 points out, Joel 3:1-5 clearly provides an important part of the background of Paul's thought in Rom 10 (the theme of a remnant saved by calling on the name of the Lord).

²⁴⁵It is the daily confession of the Shema, the fundamental theological belief of Judaism (monotheism) which separated Jew from Gentile, which for Paul bursts the racial or national boundaries of promise and salvation.

²⁴⁶Paul has added it to the quotation of Isa 28:16 in v 11, C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975, 1979) 2.532.

the Spirit (3:1) and "all who call" to receive salvation are Jew *and* Gentile, without distinction. Rom 10:13 establishes the link Paul made between "all flesh" in Joel's prophecy and the idea that "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek."

Rom 10:12 and Gal 3:28-9 are clearly parallel texts.

Gal 3:28-9
There is neither Jew nor Greek,
There is neither slave nor free,
There is no male and female;
For you are all one in Christ Jesus.
And if you are Christ's,
then you are Abraham's offspring,
heirs according to promise.

Rom 10:12
There is no distinction between Jew and Greek;
slaves or free -

The same Lord is Lord of all
and bestows his riches
upon all who call upon him

"All" are "one in Christ" and "all" serve the "same Lord." Therefore, former distinctions are done away with, and the blessings of God are given to all who believe. When the promise of the Spirit and its transcending of social boundaries of Joel 3 are seen in the background of Gal 3, the movement from the Galatians' experience of the Spirit (3:1-5) climaxing in the removal of previous distinctions (Gal 3:26-29) comes into focus.

2.4 The Eschatological Spirit as the Background to Gal 3:26-28

Given Paul's point in Galatians that the Spirit is not only charismatic experience, but that which incorporates one into the people of God, it seems best, against most received scholarly opinion, to place the emphasis of Gal 3:27 not upon the rite of water baptism, but on incorporation into Christ through the Spirit. Most scholars have understood Gal 3:26-28 under the broad rubric of "baptismal liturgy," as a citation of a pre-Pauline baptismal formula.²⁴⁷ Yet, though this *Sitz im Leben* is widely accepted, a reference to the rite of

²⁴⁷D. R. MacDonald, *There is No Male and Female: The Fate of a dominical saying in Paul and Gnosticism* (HDR 20; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 5-64 reconstructs what he terms a "dominical saying" which is an expression of Hellenistic Jewish philosophy which was influential in early Gentile Christianity.

When you tread upon the garment of shame,
and when the two become one,
and the outside as the inside,
and the male with the female
neither male nor female,
then...the Kingdom.

MacDonald then argues that knowledge of this dominical saying is represented in five other late passages (Greek "Gospel of the Egyptians" (ca 150 CE.), 2 Clement 12:2, G Th 37 (A similar version appears in Ox. Pap 655), GTh 21a, GTh 22b). When used in baptism (Gal 3:26-28, 1Cor 12:13, Col 3:9-11), MacDonald believes that the dominical saying affirmed a released of the soul from the material body (the garment of shame=coats of skin, Gen 3), and a return to primordial perfection ("become a child"), particularly to the androgyny of the first human (the two become one). MacDonald's thesis is far too detailed to justify

baptism seems out of place in the flow of Paul's argument. Even Bousset, one of the strongest proponents of the baptism setting, marvels, "How curiously this brief allusion stands out in contrast with the surrounding thought-world in the Galatian epistle! ...Now suddenly a mystical note sounds: sonship through the miracle of the sacrament, and the sacramental union with Christ!"²⁴⁸

Yet, the closest Pauline parallel to Gal 3:26, 1Cor 12:12-13, speaks of baptism in terms of a work of incorporation done by the Spirit - a line of thought much more in keeping with Gal 3.²⁴⁹

attempting to engage it in passing. However, his own comparison of the reconstructed dominical saying and the version as redacted by Paul exposes a simple weakness in his thesis.

Paul added			For in Christ all of you are sons of God through faith, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ
He altered	when	to	have
He altered	tread on the garments of shame	to	put on Christ
He altered	inside and outside	to	Jew or Greek,
	male with the female		slave or free,
	male nor female		male and female.
He altered	the two become one	to	you are all one
He added			in Christ

When we consider all the Pauline alterations and additions together, the result is simply what Paul penned in Gal 3:26-28. What is noticeably absent is *any* "unaltered" reference to the Dominical Saying upon which Paul's composition is supposed to be based upon.

Near parallels to Paul's phrase are found in Hellenistic and Rabbinic writings. "Three reasons for gratitude" said to have been repeated by Greek men are, "That I was born a human being and not a beast, next, a man and not a woman, thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian." The saying is attributed by Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 1.33 to Thales and Socrates, and by Plutarch, *Marius* 46 and Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 3.19.17, to Plato, cited by R. Longenecker, *NT Social Ethics for Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984) 70. A similar idea is found in the Rabbinic writings: R. Judah says, "One ought to say three blessings every day: blessed is he that he did not make me a Gentile; blessed is he that he did not make me a woman; blessed is he that he did not make me a boor." (*Tosefta: Ber* 7:18. and B. Talmud, *Men* 43b, cited in M. Boucher, "Some Unexplored Parallels to 1Cor 11,11-12 and Gal 3,28: The NT on the Role of Women," *CBQ* 31 (1969) 53, who also points to other Rabbinic near parallels). Thus, sayings which emphasized a sense of privilege in ethnic decent, culture and gender existed in the Greco-Roman world. Contrasting opposites are also another literary device found in Rabbinic writings. Three pairs of opposites, Gentile or Israelite, man or woman, slave or handmaid, appear 3 times in Seder Eliahu Rabbah 7, 10, 14, commenting on Lev 1:11. These pairs are used as merism (representing the whole by mentioning the extremes) thus reinforcing the opposite nature and lack of equality of what is contrasted. See B. Witherington, "Rite and Rights for Women - Galatians 3:28," *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 593, with additional citations. Paul's statement is very different from these examples: whether intentionally different is impossible to prove.

²⁴⁸W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 158.
²⁴⁹For a complete overview of Pauline references to baptism and the reception of the Spirit, see Lull, 59-66. He concludes (66): "For Paul, the Spirit is a power which makes baptism effective; but it is bestowed on the believer *before* baptism."

Gal 3:26-29

For in Christ Jesus,
you are all sons of God,
through faith.

For as many of you
as were baptized into Christ...
There is neither Jew nor Greek,
There is neither slave nor free,
There is no male and female;
For you are all one in Christ Jesus.
And if you are Christ's,
then you are Abraham's offspring,
heirs according to promise.

1Cor 12:12-13

For just as the body is one
and has many members,
and all the members of the body,
though many, are one body, so it is with Christ.
For in one Spirit (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι)
we were all baptized into one body -
Jews or Greeks,
slaves or free -

and all were made to drink
of one Spirit.

When set side-by-side, the similar structure reveals a similarity of theme. Furthermore, in 1Cor 12:12-13, Paul utilized two different images in describing incorporation by the Spirit into one body:

in one Spirit were *all baptized*;
all were made *to drink* of one Spirit.

This shows that the emphasis is not on a baptismal rite but upon the metaphor of the Spirit poured out like water to illustrate the common bond of all in Christ.²⁵⁰ *All*, in *one* Spirit, were drenched and infilled. Comparison of Gal 3:27 with parallel passages in Galatians reinforces the conclusion that the baptism Paul is referring to is baptism in the Spirit.²⁵¹

3:25-29

25 But now that faith has come,

we are no longer under a custodian.
26 For you are all sons of God.
27 For as many of you as were baptized
into Christ have put on Christ,
29 ...You are Abraham's seed,
heirs according to promise.

3:25-29

25 But now that faith has come,
we are no longer under a custodian.
26 In Christ you are all sons of God by faith.
27 ...you as were baptized into Christ.
29 ...You are Abraham's seed,
heirs according to promise.

4:4-7

4 But when the time had fully come
God sent forth his Son...
5 to redeem those who were under the Law,
so that we might receive adoption as sons.
6 ...God has sent the Spirit of his Son
into our hearts...
7 So through God you are no longer a slave
but a son, and if a son then an heir.

3:13-14

13 Christ redeemed us
from the curse of the Law...
14b ...That we might receive the promise
of the Spirit through faith.
14a ...That the blessing of Abraham might
come upon the Gentiles.

Therefore, through the Spirit, those who place faith in Christ are incorporated (baptized) into one body.

²⁵⁰I would argue that Joel 3 stands also in the background of 1Cor 12:12-13.

²⁵¹For the parallel between 3:23-9 and 4:1-7, see Dunn, *Galatians*, 210.

In Gal 3:26-29 and 1Cor 12:12-13, the immediate implication of the Spirit poured out in the new creation is that a unity results in which previous social distinctions are transcended. Taking the precedent of Rom 10:13, where Paul interpreted "πᾶς" in Joel 3 as indicating "neither Jew nor Greek," Gal 3:28 and 1Cor 12:13 reflect the theme in Joel that the gift of the Spirit transcends the distinction between sexes ("your sons and daughters shall prophesy," "upon your *male* slaves and *female* slaves") and between slave and free ("upon your male *slaves* and female *slaves*" as well as "sons and daughters"). The implications of this social transformation are too complicated to develop at this time. The emphasis we want to make is that the removal of previous distinctions is something which takes place in the realm of the Spirit.²⁵² This particularly addresses the Jew-Gentile division. The presence of the Spirit, the sign of the new creation, not only transcends the social boundaries within Israel (as in Joel), it transcends the ethnic boundary between Israel and the Gentiles.

2.5 Conclusion

As we noted, in the OT the pouring out of the Spirit is closely associated with the restoration of the Land, the Land promised as a blessing to Abraham. But for Paul, the pouring out of the Spirit upon his Gentile converts, the sign of their salvation and inclusion in the people of God, was a fulfillment of the promise to Abraham that he would bless the nations. "All who call upon the name of the Lord," Jew and Gentile alike, receive without distinction the Spirit poured out (Joel 3:1-5). This Spirit, the Spirit of the Son, joins them together in the one family of God, the "Abba" cry leaving all previous distinctions behind. For Paul, the promise to Abraham of the Land (and therefore promises of the renewal of the Land) becomes the promise to inherit the world (Rom 4:13).²⁵³ Consequently, the concept

²⁵²Paul's own phrase, "the Spirit of the Son," emphasizes that it is artificial to his thinking to try to delineate too distinctly between being "in Christ" and "receiving the Spirit." "For all who have been baptized (by the Spirit) into Christ have put on Christ." The phrase, "put on Christ," which we discussed under the topic of Adam Christology, could as easily have been discussed in terms of the Spirit, whose presence is another major theme in Isa 59. Compare Lk 24:49 where the promise of the Father is fulfilled in being "ἐνδύσθητε ἐξ ὑψους δύναμιν."

²⁵³Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 176-9, Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 174.

of new creation is not limited to the restoration of a homeland, but the transformation of the cosmos and its history. The hope for the new creation is in Judaism above all a covenantal hope. But by rooting covenant renewal in Abraham, the father of nations, and by drawing together Abraham's inheritance and the eschatological promise of the Spirit (as in Isa 59:21), Paul's theological perspective transcends the former ethnic boundaries of the new covenant and therefore the nationalistic orientation of the new creation.

3. The Creation Blessing and Ethnic Descent

3.1 "Male and Female"

The phrase "male and female" stands out in Gal 3:28 for two reasons. In the first place, this mention of distinction in gender is unique among the occurrences of "contrasting couplets" in Pauline literature. Either Paul contrasts "Jew and Gentile" (or "circumcised and uncircumcised") alone, or in conjunction with the contrast between "slave and free" (Rom 10:12, 1Cor 12:13, Col 3:11 with the addition of barbarian and Scythian).²⁵⁴ Can we account for the specific inclusion of this phrase in Gal 3:26 without simply concluding that Paul is referring to a baptismal formula (pre-Pauline or Pauline) which included all three couplets. If he was in fact relying on a pre-existing creed, he certainly felt the liberty elsewhere to leave out this last stanza in all other applications in his writings. The motivation for its inclusion here is puzzling if we limit its meaning to its traditional focus on gender distinctions. Because while Paul deals extensively with the Jew/Gentile issue, and the contrast between slavery and freedom is an important theme in Galatians, questions regarding marriage, or the ordering of family life, or the role of women in leadership or in

²⁵⁴S. Bartchy, *First-Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:21* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973) 162-5 has pointed out that 1Cor 7:17-39 deals with the issues of circumcision, slavery and freedom, and unmarried/married is a sequence which reflects Gal 3:26. Paul's advice is grounded in the fact that "the form of the world is passing away" (1Cor 7:29-31). Yet, notice that whereas Paul deals quickly and decisively with the issue of circumcision and slavery ("This is my rule in all the churches" 7:17), and that the phrase "remain in the state you were called" forms an *inclusio* around these verses, on the issue of unmarried/married (certainly not the issue of gender!) he gives his "opinion" (7:25), his "judgment" (40) and the tone of the entire passage lacks the decisive instruction of vv 17-39. In 1Cor 7:17-39, there is no significance to the distinction between Jew or Greek, slave or free, but there are a number of concerns about marriage - there is, in this sense, "male and female." Compare 2Cor 9:19-21.

worship, issues addressed in other letters, are absent from Galatians. What motivates its inclusion here (and to a degree, what accounts for its absence where it seems most applicable)?

The second reason the phrase "male and female" stands out in Gal 3:28 is grammatical: "no male *and female*" breaks the "neither...nor" pattern utilized in the Jew/Greek, Slave/Free contrasts.

οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ,
 οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος,
 οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ.

Furthermore, the words ἄρσεν and θήλυ are relatively uncommon words for man and woman, the usual words employed being ἀνὴρ and γυνή. These issues are clarified once it is recognized that the phrase ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ is a citation of the LXX accounts of the creation of humanity (Gen 1:27, 5:2: ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς). This accounts for the grammatical change and the choice of unusual vocabulary. Did Paul have a theological motive in citing these verses from the LXX in Galatians 3?

The implication Stendahl draws from the reference to the creation account is as follows:

"And finally, the most primary division of God's creation is overcome, that between *male and female* - the terminology points directly back to Genesis 1:27 and in the direction of man as the image of God, beyond the division into male and female."²⁵⁵

But this interpretation seems to put Paul not only in tension with other NT writers, but Paul in tension with himself. As Stendahl continues,

"It should be noted that this statement is directed against what we call the order of creation, and consequently it creates a tension with those biblical passages - Pauline and non-Pauline - by which this order of creation maintains its place in the fundamental view of the NT concerning the subordination of women."²⁵⁶

Is there a better interpretation than one which places Paul in tension with himself? By focusing on the issue of gender distinctions and not placing enough weight on the context of

²⁵⁵K. Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 32.

²⁵⁶Stendahl, *Role of Women*, 32.

ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ in the creation accounts, I believe Stendahl and other scholars whose interpretations are similar have failed to see the full significance of this phrase in terms of Paul's overall argument in Gal 2-4. In what follows, we will attempt to clarify why Paul might have chosen to introduce the phrase "male and female" into the series of couplets, and particularly, how this reference to creation is integral to the wider concerns of Galatians. In fact, it could be said that this phrase is the climax of the contrast Paul draws between the People of God defined by the first creation and the People of God defined by the new creation.

3.2 The Emphasis of the Creation Reference: Genealogy, not Gender

The phrase "male and female" in Gen 1:27 connects the idea of humanity created in the image of God and the creation blessing "be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth." Sexual differentiation enables the fulfillment of God's command and purpose: be fruitful and multiply. In Gen 1:27, there is no indication of superiority or subordination. The focus on Gen 1:27-28 is upon the union between "male and female" and the resulting descendants, not upon the diversity, or distinction, between male and female.²⁵⁷ Putting it another way, Gen 1:27-28 is much more about genealogy than about gender.

Gen 5:1-3 restates that humanity was created in the likeness of God, created male and female and blessed.

Gen 5:2

- 1 This is the book of the generations of Adam
When God created man, he made him in the likeness of God.
- 2 Male and female he created them and he blessed them
And named them Man when they were created
- 3 When Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years
He became the father of a son in his own likeness, after his image
And named him Seth.

Here the central emphasis is upon offspring, the specific starting point of the creation command of Gen 1:27-28: the "generations of Adam," "the father of a son in his own

²⁵⁷In Mark 10:6 and Matt 19:4, Gen 1:27 is immediately followed by Gen 2:24, the haggadah on marriage. Again, the idea is on union, "God has joined together as one flesh." In this case, male and female refer not so much to diversity or division as unity.

likeness, after his image." What follows in the succeeding record of "generations" (the *toledoth* formula) is two-pronged: account is given for the origin of the nations and the genealogy of Abraham (and therefore, of Israel) is traced.

Gen 10 begins, "These are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth; sons were born to them after the flood." What follows is the "generations" of each son, each concluding with a summary statement.

Gen 10:5

5 These are the sons of Japheth in their lands,
each with his own language, by their families, *in their nations*.

Gen 10:20

20 These are the sons of Ham,
by their families, their languages, their lands, *and their nations*.

Gen 10:31

31 These are the sons of Shem,
by their families, their languages, their lands, *and their nations*.

Gen 10:32

32 These are the families of the sons of Noah
According to their generations,
In their nations;
And from these *the nations* spread abroad on the earth after the
flood.

The purpose of these genealogies is clearly to note the origin and growth of the nations.

However, the next genealogy, Gen 11:10-32, traces descendants from Shem to Abraham.

As we noted above in our discussion of the creation accounts, one of the chief theological purposes of the *toledoth* formula is to trace the succession of generations from Adam to Abraham.

In our overview of Genesis, we noted Abraham is connected back to Adam in three ways:

1. The creation blessing given to Adam (Gen 1:27-8), then to Noah (Gen 8:17, 9:1, 7), is then given to Abraham and his sons (Gen 17:2, 6, 16, 20-25, 22:17; 26:4; 28:1-4, 35:11, 47:27, 48:3-4), and reaches its climax in the nation of Israel (Ex 1:7) and her history (Exod 32:13, Lev 26:9, Deut 1:10; 7:13-14, 8:1, 10:22, 28:11, 63, 30:5, 16.).

2. The blessing of Abraham (relationship with God, descendants and land) overlaps with the creation blessing of Adam (created in the image of God, "be fruitful and multiply," "fill the earth/land").²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸Clines, *Theme*, 78.

3. The **וְהָיָה** formula is used to trace the succession of generations from Adam to Abraham.

Adam, as the person of common origin, is a unifying figure in primeval history.²⁵⁹ The generations after Adam emphasize the diversity of humanity, particularly the two main groupings (1) of the "nations" (2) and of the line from Shem to Abraham leading up to the patriarchs of Israel. Then Abraham himself is again a unifying figure: the patriarch of a "great nation" (12:2) and the father of many nations (17:5), the one who is blessed (and so the nation which emerges from him) and who will be a source of blessing for all the nations. By declaring Christ "seed of Abraham," Paul places Christ in the line of the unifying figures of Adam and Abraham.²⁶⁰ In him, as in Adam and in Abraham, humanity as one receives the blessing of creation.

This is clearly opposite to the theology of Paul's opponents. They would have been emphatic in their presentation to the Galatians of the need to join the genealogical line of Abraham (by becoming proselytes), a line which ran from Adam through Abraham to ethnic Israel, the generations upon whom rest the original blessing of creation and God's purpose in creating the world. Our survey of Jewish literature has demonstrated the consistency in which creation and election were held together. Adam is patriarch of Israel. The blessing upon Adam and Eve is fulfilled in the nation of Israel, the sons of Abraham. The authority of Adam is fulfilled in the conquest of the Land and in kingship. Zion and the Temple are Paradise, the place where God dwells and where man can fellowship with God. The result is a creation theology which sees the ultimate purpose of creation fulfilled in the creation of ethnic Israel. The "generations" of primeval history establish the line of continuity from Adam to Abraham, because the world was made *for Israel*.²⁶¹ The creation blessing of primeval history was interpreted by Jews in the Second Temple period to indicate with increasing exclusivity the beginning point of their national and ethnic destiny.

²⁵⁹Rabbinic scholars elaborated in great detail on Adam as a figure of human solidarity. See particularly Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 53-55.

²⁶⁰This idea of representative figures is the central element in Barrett's *From First Adam to Last*.

²⁶¹See, *inter alia*, TMos 1:11-13, the "eschatologized" reading of Gen 1-2 in 1En 10:17-20 where the righteous will "multiply and become tens of hundreds," and the questions raised regarding this assumption by the events of 70 CE. in 4Ez 6:53-59, 2Bar 14:18-19, 15:7, 21:24.

In the phrase "male and female," we may suggest that Paul found encapsulated the focus in Israel's creation theology upon physical descent, ethnic priority, and national boundaries, an interpretation of creation which defined the people of God as "Jews by birth" and which therefore made the need to Judaize (to become "just like a native born" through observing the works of the law, especially circumcision) a demand for inclusion in the Israel of God. Throughout Gal 3-4, Paul argues that the "sons of Abraham" are not simply Jews *by birth*. Physical descent, a creation ordered by "generations" of offspring multiplied from "male and female," has been superseded by a "new creation" where circumcision and uncircumcision are nothing.²⁶² The sons of Abraham are not those born by "male and female." The sons of promise are "those of faith" (3:7), both Jew and Gentile who are born "according to the Spirit." By disassociating the Mosaic Law from the promise to Abraham and making incorporation into Christ (as Seed of Abraham) instead of incorporation into ethnic Israel the basis of membership in the people of God, Paul attempts to convince the Galatians that they are full heirs of salvation apart from observing "works of the Law."²⁶³ Paul develops a sweeping argument which centres on the identity of the sons of God, using the key imagery of birth and adoption. In the new creation, "there is no 'male and female.'" Repeated throughout the argument of 2:15-4:31 are phrases in which Paul redefined the interpretation of descent and sonship: Jews by birth, sons of Abraham, heirs of the promises, seed of Abraham, sons of God.

3.3 No "Male and Female": Born according to the Spirit, not Jews by Birth

The contrast given in Gal 2:15 reflects most clearly the Jewish perspective of ethnic prerogative as the people of God: "Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί." The comparison φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι/ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί is the same comparison stated in 3:28, "Ἰουδαῖος/Ἕλλην" and 6:15, "περιτομῇ/ἀκροβυστία." The overt Jewish perspective of

²⁶²The idea of physical descent also is crucial to the contrast between "slave and free." As Bartsch, *First-Century Slavery*, 45 notes, "With the cessation of the great wars of conquest after the death of Augustus, the primary source for slaves became breeding. That is, under both Greek and Roman law, children born to mothers who were in slavery became slaves at birth." If space had permitted, it would have been valuable to explore the relationship between "no 'male and female,'" and "neither slave nor free."

²⁶³These themes, of course, have been studied with the detail they deserve by other scholars. On Abraham, see particularly Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, upon whose findings much of our short summary is based.

the contrast in 2:15 could indicate that Paul perhaps adopted temporarily the language of the "men from James" in an attempt to begin his argument by finding a degree of common ground.

The word "φύσις" refers in its broadest sense to one's "nature." But often it is one's nature especially by heritage or background which is in mind. Thus the dative "φύσει" acquired a meaning as a technical term "by birth, by physical descent."²⁶⁴ "Jew by birth" emphasized the role of ethnic descent and cultural heritage which marked the Jewish understanding of themselves as the elect nation. This ethnic perspective was not racist, because provisions were available for Gentiles to become incorporated into the covenant people. But to do so, they had to become just like "Jews by birth." As we pointed out earlier, conversion to Judaism was not simply giving assent to the faith of Israel, it was leaving behind one's ethnic and social heritage and joining a new ethnic community.²⁶⁵ The phrases "Israel according to the flesh" (Paul's emphasis) and seed/sons/heirs of Abraham (the opponents emphasis) both reflect the centrality of ethnic descent in Jewish self-understanding.

The word "sinners" (ἁμαρτωλοί) is a covenantal definition, not necessarily an ethical definition. Gentiles are "sinners" because they are literally "lawless."²⁶⁶ They are not informed about the commands and stipulations of the Law and therefore live a lifestyle which transgresses the Law in an ongoing fashion. And because they transgress the Law but cannot avail themselves of the atonement provided for in the Law, they remain in a state of unrighteousness before God, by definition, "sinners."

This division between "Jews by birth" and "Gentile sinners" was clearly expressed in the social function of the Law, as seen by the basis of inclusion/exclusion in table-fellowship at Antioch. Paul's argument is that he and Peter, though both "Jews by birth,"

²⁶⁴H. Koester, "φύσις," *TDNT* 9.252-77. In Philo, as Koester points out, φύσις refers frequently to the created world - but it is not possible to substantiate that Paul intended a direct comparison between the created world and the "new creation."

²⁶⁵We noted earlier the belief in Judaism that "the proselyte is just like the native born."

²⁶⁶Without the Law - see PssSol 17:24, Ps-Philo 10:2; "sinners" - see PssSol 2:1, 17:23; Jub 23:24; see the references in Dunn, *Galatians*, 133.

have placed their faith in Christ, having realized that no one shall be justified by works of the law.

Paul then narrows the frame of reference from "we" (Paul and Peter) to "I" in Gal 2:18-21. Paul states that through the Law he has now died to the Law (ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, 2:19), died to that identity which was his through birth and to covenantal standing derived from observing the Torah. For Paul, the "I" which was crucified with Christ (2:20) is the Paul who was a "Jew by birth" (2:15), who previously had considered a righteous status in covenantal relationship to be based on observance of the Law (2:21).²⁶⁷ This marriage of ethnic awareness with "zeal for the Law" is seen in his earlier self-description of his "former life in Judaism" (1:14): one who was outstanding among contemporaries "*of my race*" (ἐν τῷ γένει μου), one who was zealous with regard to the traditions "*of my fathers*" (τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων).²⁶⁸ But in the cross, Paul gained a new life, a new existence, a new identity: not "Jew by birth" but life in mortal flesh instead defined by faith in the Son of God (Gal 2:20). Thus, the contrast between "works of the Law" and faith, the point of focus for most commentators in this section, cannot be understood properly if separated from the ethnic aspect of Judaism (physical descent). Adopting an ethnic identity and a national culture no longer played a part in the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God. Both Jew and Gentile "get in and stay in" through faith in Christ. We shall continue to see how Paul progresses towards his declaration in Gal 3:28 that in the new creation, there is no "male and female."

In Gal 3:1-5, Paul equates the reception of the Spirit with the point of origin (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι) of the Galatians' new life as Christians. Their beginning in the Spirit is in contrast to their hope to be brought to maturity by the flesh, a realm which not only includes human weakness, but a confidence in things such as ethnic origin or cultural distinctives. The phrase ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι has the same meaning as "born according

²⁶⁷Wright, *Messiah and the People of God*, 40, 93. For Wright's application of "corporate" Christology to this passage, 22, 145-151.

²⁶⁸This link between physical descent (ethnic Judaism - ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων) and covenantal standing (righteousness - κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος) is made even more clearly in Paul's self-description in Phil 3:5-6.

to the Spirit (4:29 - ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα). As we shall see below, the idea of "beginning by the Spirit" is a deliberate reference to Gen 1:1-2, making the contrast to "Jews by birth," an emphasis on physical descent rooted in the first creation (Gen 1:26-28), even more pointed.

Gal 3:6-14 brings us fully upon one of the central purposes of Gal 2-4, to prove the scriptural and experiential validity of Paul's declaration that "it is those of faith who are the *sons* of Abraham" (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν Ἀβραάμ, 3:7). In particular, the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη, vv. 7, 8 (twice), 14) are brought into right covenantal relationship with God (justified) through faith, thus fulfilling the promise to Abraham. The reception of the Spirit by the Galatians (Gentiles) and by Paul (a Jew by birth) is proof positive that the sons of Abraham, and therefore the heirs of his blessing, are those of the faith of Abraham (3:14).

Paul's challenge to the priority of "physical descent" becomes clear in Gal 3:15-22 with his "rabbinical" interpretation of the word "σπέρμα" from the promise to Abraham (Gen 13:15, 17 LXX; 15:8, 17:8, 24:7). The "seed of Abraham" is not his physical descendants through Isaac, an idea basic to Israel's self-identity, but is Christ. Thus, his "heirs" are identified through their incorporation into Christ, not by birth into ethnic Israel.

In Christ, all are now one (3:23-29). Before the "one God" (3:20), Jew and Gentile are one in Christ, the one seed of Abraham.²⁶⁹ The new creation transcends previous social identity and social distinctions. This section brings to a head a redefinition of the language of physical descent. Those incorporated into Christ, in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, are Abraham's *seed* and Abraham's *heirs*: εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι (3:29). The development of the sonship theme from "sons of Abraham" to "sons of God" (3:26) continues the image of family and descent, but further de-emphasizes the idea of physical offspring.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 72-73 points out the link between the one seed and one in Christ, although he downplays the significance of the invalidation of the Jew-Gentile distinction.

²⁷⁰Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 167.

In the midst of the climax of the argument against physical descent as the criterion of incorporation into the people of God is the citation of the phrase from Gen 1:26 "there is no 'male and female.'" What in Jewish interpretation had been considered the purpose of the creation blessing upon male and female, the creation of a line of descendants which would find its fulfillment in the nation of Israel and its culmination in her eschatological history, is a purpose whose time Paul declares has ended, having been superseded by a *new creation*. Inclusion/exclusion in the people of God has nothing to do with physical descent (Jews by birth/Gentile sinners), signified by the words "male and female." Those of faith are the sons of Abraham, those in Christ are sons of God, those who have been given the Spirit are the ones justified in a new covenant relationship with God. It is not so much the distinction between male and female which is done away with. What is eliminated is the emphasis on physical descent which these words originally signified. Participation in the family of God is not through being a "Jew by birth." To call God "Abba" one must be "born according to the Spirit."

"Sons of God" was a title previously exclusive to ethnic Israel. But now, all who receive the Spirit of the Son are included in this term (4:1-7).²⁷¹ The experience of the divine presence, that experience of Paradise which Jews believed was localized in Zion, was being experienced with the closest sense of intimacy ("Abba") by Gentiles in Christ.²⁷² Adam Christology further underpins Paul's theological argument, and develops the contrast between natural birth and spiritual adoption. God's *Son* experienced the humanity of the first creation, "*born* of a woman, *born* under the Law," so that those he redeemed could receive "*adoption* as sons." Even the contrast between birth and adoption continues the de-emphasis on physical descent. Physical descent has been replaced by adoption through faith. Thus, although once enslaved to the elemental spirits of the cosmos (fallen creation), those in Christ are no longer slaves, but sons, and therefore heirs of God.

²⁷¹Note also that the promise of the Spirit is frequently given to descendants, e.g. Isa 44:3 (your offspring, your descendants), Joel 3 (your sons and daughters). The Gentiles must be "sons and daughters" if they are to be considered to be included in these promises. Therefore, the redefinition of "descendants" (by the Spirit, not physical birth) is crucial for Paul's argument based on the reception of the Spirit.

²⁷²4:6 contains a declarative ὅτι, the proof of sonship is the Abba cry, not a causative ὅτι, because you are sons (first), then God sent his Spirit into our hearts. Lull, 106-7.

Paul enhances his appeal to the Galatians by referring to their previously demonstrated friendship towards him and his apostolic concern for them (4:8-20). In Gal 4:19, he calls the Galatians "my children." But because of their concern to align themselves with the elements of the world (placing a priority on observing the Jewish calendar), Paul wonders out loud "I am afraid I have laboured (κεκοπίακα) over you in vain" (v 11). The child-bearing metaphor²⁷³ seems to make reference to the same image found throughout Isa 65-66 in association with the description of the new heavens and the new earth (65:17-25). One of the promises of the new era, found in v 23, is that:

They shall not labour (κοπιήσουσιν) in vain,
or bear children for calamity;
For they shall be the seed (σπέρμα) of the blessed of Yahweh...

The idea of "seed" and "blessing" certainly fits the context of Galatians well. The childbirth imagery continues in Isa 66:7-9, centring on the image of travail (ᾠδίνω - 66:7 [2x], 8 [2x]). Paul's language in 4:19 likewise draws on the metaphor of travail: "τέκνα μου, οὗς πάλιν ᾠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν." Zion's travail in Isa 66 results in the new creation (66:10-23). As we saw earlier, this description of the new creation is the most revolutionary in terms of the boundaries between Jew and Gentile. As might be expected in a description of eschatological Zion, envoys will be sent from Israel to declare the glory of Yahweh among the nations, and the nations shall stream to Zion bringing back the dispersed. But then the prophecy takes a unparalleled leap: from among the Gentiles who make pilgrimage to Zion, Yahweh will select some "for priests and Levites" (v 21). "All flesh shall come to worship before me" (v 23).²⁷⁴ Similarly, Paul's sufferings and labours are focused on the inclusion of the Gentiles in the new creation.

Thus, Paul's child-bearing imagery is striking, but is in keeping both with the promise of the new creation in Isaiah 65-66 and with the theme of birth and descendants we have been following through these chapters. The birth process of the people of God in the

²⁷³Parent-Child imagery is common in Paul's description of his relationship with his converts. See 1Cor 4:14, 17, 2Cor 6:13, 12:14, Phil 2:22, 1Thess 2:11. Spiritual birth was imagery commonly used in Hellenistic religions (see Betz, *Galatians*, 233-235), but is also evident in the OT (e.g. Isa 26:17-18).

²⁷⁴The transformation of Jew and Gentile in the Temple depicted in 1 Enoch 90:38, the most universalistic depiction of the eschaton among the literature we surveyed, seems to be an allegory on Isa 66. Other than this occurrence, this aspect of the new creation is decidedly underemphasized in Second Temple literature.

new creation is "spiritual birth," not physical birth. Conformity to the image of Christ brings to mind the frequent Pauline theme of the restoration of the image of God in humanity as the goal and the process of salvation (Rom 8:29, 2Cor 3:18-4:4, Col 3:10; at the parousia 1Cor 15:45-9, Phil 3:10-11, 21). Ethnic Israel traced her genealogy back to Seth, born in the image and likeness of Adam (Gen 5:2). But in the new creation, it is the travail of the Spirit (Rom 8:26) which causes "many brothers" to be shaped into the image of Christ and have restored to them the glory of God (Rom 8:29-30).

The final reference to descent and sonship is found in Gal 4:21-31. Paul applies his allegorical interpretation to the life of Abraham, urging that the Judaizers be "cast out" (4:30). The theme of the allegory is that "Abraham had two sons," one by a slave, born according to the flesh, one by a free woman, born through promise/the Spirit. Again we should note that Paul often uses the phrase "κατὰ σάρκα" to refer to Jews by ethnic origin (Rom 1:3, 4:1, 9:3, 5-9, 11:14, compare Phil 3:3-4, ἐν σαρκί). These two women represent two covenants, bearing children either for slavery or bearing children in freedom, according to promise. Those who trace their descent to Sinai (outside the Land promised Abraham), which corresponds to Jerusalem, are in slavery. But Paul declares "Jerusalem above, she is our mother," and that the Galatians are "children of promise," "not children of the slave but of the free woman," those who will inherit what was promised. Thus, an entire package of imagery of descent and sonship is found in this allegory: sons, children, mothers, child-bearing, heirs. Those whose identity is determined by physical descent (according to the flesh) are contrasted to those whose identity is determined by Spirit and promise, those who having been born of the Spirit are now heirs through God. God chooses those *without offspring*, the barren and deserted, rather than those of privilege and favoured status. The irony of the allegory is that among Sarah's spiritual descendants are a number of Hagar's physical descendants.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵C. K. Barrett, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar," in *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982) 164-168.

3.4 Conclusion: No "Male and Female"

The development of the theme of descent and offspring in Gal 3 and 4 is a key aspect of Paul's argument that Gentiles do not need to become Jewish-Christians to be incorporated into the people of God. The words cited from Gen 1:26, "male and female," stand in special contrast to "one *in Christ*..". The world ordered by physical descent has passed away, replaced by "a new creation" in which covenantal membership is determined by being "in Christ" through faith. When Paul declares,

In Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith
There is no "male and female"
If you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring...

he is striking at a fundamental concept in the understanding of covenant membership in Judaism: the equation of ethnic descent with covenantal boundaries.²⁷⁶ The contrast to the rising theological and political nationalism in Judaism during this period could not be more striking. The very boundaries he himself once built up, Paul now tears down (Gal 2:18).

What in Judaism had been considered the purpose of the creation blessing upon male and female, the creation of a line of descendants which would find its fulfillment in the nation of Israel ("Jews by birth") and its culmination in her eschatological history, belongs to a world which is passing away. The inbreaking of the new creation reveals the apocalyptic divide between the old and the new. On one side of the divide is "male and female," a world determined "by birth," "according to the flesh," "born of a woman," "born under the law." On the other side of the divide are the people of God "in Christ," the new man, the second Adam, a line of descent determined by adoption through faith and the reception of the Spirit of the Son. In the new creation, the link between creation and election transcends ethnic boundaries. In the new creation, there is no "male and female."

²⁷⁶Of course, he is not alone in this critique. Many sectarians drew an ethical circle (the righteous) which was smaller than the ethnic boundary. But their emphasis was "not all who are Israelites," not "neither Jew nor Greek."

4. The Spirit as Creation Life in Contrast to Works of the Law

In Galatians 3:3, Paul introduces the central motif in his argument against the Judaizers. "Having begun by the Spirit, are you now completed in the flesh."²⁷⁷ This sentence in Gal 3:3 seems deliberately to echo the beginning and end of the first creation account in Genesis.

Having begun (ἐναρξάμενοι)
by the Spirit (πνεύματι)

In the beginning (Ἐν ἀρχῇ) God created...
And the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of God
was moving upon the face of the waters
(Gen 1:1-2)

are you now
completed (ἐπιτελείσθε)
in the flesh?

And the heaven and the earth
were finished (συνετελέσθησαν)...
God finished (συνετέλεσεν)
his work which he had done. (Gen 2:1-2)

The only other occurrence of ἐνάρχομαι in the NT is in Phil 1:6, again coupled with ἐπιτελέω. This verse conveys very similar ideas to Gal 3:3

...ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν
ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

The phrase "ἔργον ἀγαθὸν" reflects the divine verdict, "God saw that it was (very) good (καλὰ)" on the works (Gen 2:2-τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ) of his creative acts in Genesis 1-2:3.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, the process to be completed on the day of Jesus Christ is to be conformed (σύμμορφον, Phil 3:21) to the glorious body of the one who was in the form (ἐν μορφῇ, 2:6) of God. Because the process of salvation is founded to a large degree in Philippians on a developed Adam Christology, this adds further reason to see the idea of "beginning/completion" in Phil 1:6 as an echo of creation language. Similarly, in describing salvation as new creation in Galatians, Paul emphasizes that, as in the creation of the cosmos, the Spirit is the "life-force" for the new creation (and alone can bring it to completion). Life "by the Spirit" is thus contrasted to life "under the Law."

Gal 5:25

25 If we live (ζῶμεν) by the Spirit,
let us also walk (στοιχῶμεν) by the Spirit.

²⁷⁷"The Spirit was the decisive factor in the very structure of Christian existence itself," Lull, 103.

²⁷⁸O'Brien, *Philippians*, 64-5. Compare Eph 2:10, "created for good works" in Christ Jesus. See Derrett, "New Creation," 602.

Paul grounds the imperative ("Let us walk") in the indicative ("we live by the Spirit"). The creation of life, attributed to the Spirit, is precisely the failing of the Law. In Galatians 3:21, Paul writes "For if a Law had been given which could make alive (ζωοποιέω), then righteousness would indeed have been based on the Law.

The word "ζωοποιέω" is in Paul associated with the power of God as Creator to make alive what was dead and create life out of nothing (Rom 4:17 - τοῦ ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα). The power to "make alive" in resurrection is specifically what contrasts the last Adam with the first.

1Cor 15:22, 45

22 For as in Adam all die,
So also in Christ shall all be made alive (ζωοποιηθήσονται).

45 Thus it is written
The first man Adam became a living being;
The last Adam became a life-giving spirit (εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν).

In 1Cor 15, ζωοποιέω is clearly part of the new creation vocabulary of Paul. But these verses which deal with Adam Christology also reveal a Creation Pneumatology. The association between the Spirit and ζωοποιέω is further attested in Rom 8:11.²⁷⁹

Rom 8:11

11 If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you,
He who raised Christ Jesus from the dead
will give life (ζωοποιήσει) to your mortal bodies
Also through his Spirit (διὰ... αὐτοῦ πνεύματος)
which dwells in you.

The Spirit is the means by which God expresses his creative power, witnessed in the creation of the world (Gen 1:2, 2:7), again to be most clearly witnessed in the resurrection from the dead. This is why in Gal 6:8 Paul writes "the one who sows to the Spirit shall from the Spirit reap eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον)."

The power of the creator expressed in the future resurrection is already at work through the Spirit in the people of the new creation. As we already noted, this "life-giving"

²⁷⁹Rom 8 has as one of its central focuses the theme of the "Spirit of Life" (8:2). On the relationship of "life-giving" Spirit to Gen 1:2 and to other creation themes Paul uses in 1Cor 15, see Neary, "Creation and Pauline Soteriology," 6-7.

aspect of the Spirit sets the Spirit in antithesis to the function of the Law and its effect on humanity.

2Cor 3:6-8

- 6 Who (God) has made us competent to be ministers of a new covenant,
not in letter but in the Spirit;
For the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life (ζωοποιεῖ).
7 Now if the ministry of death...
8 Will not the ministry of the Spirit...

The Law cannot "make alive." Rather, it functioned in the era of death, and to a degree became an agent of death (compare Rom 7:9-13 with 2Cor 3:6-8).²⁸⁰ In the divine purpose, this death which the Law helped to bring about is the preparation, the precursor, to resurrection life by the Spirit. Thus the occurrence of death is necessary before new life is given.²⁸¹ This aspect of the function of the Law is extremely clear in Galatians.

Gal 2:19-20

- 19 *Through* the Law, I died to the Law,
that I might live (ζήσω) to God.
20 I have been crucified with Christ;
it is no longer I who live (ζῶ),
but Christ who lives (ζῇ) in me;
And the life I now live (ζῶ) in the flesh
I live (ζῶ) by faith in the Son of God...

This theme is crucial to understanding Galatians: death to the first creation by the Law through interchange with the crucified Christ, followed by the new creation of life in Christ through the Spirit. The Law has served its function in the divine economy to bring all in Adam under condemnation. Those whom the Spirit has brought to life in the family of God are no longer in the realm controlled by the Law and death. Compare Gal 5:18 and Rom 8:14:

If you are led (ἄγεσθε) by the Spirit, you are not under the Law.
For all who are led (ἄγονται) by the Spirit of God are sons of God.

Therefore, Paul considers it incomprehensible that, once having been transferred into the new creation, to consider adopting the practices of the past era in order to make progress in the present. He asks the Galatians:

²⁸⁰Sanders, *PLJP*, 82-83.

²⁸¹Compare the allusion Paul draws on to illustrate the resurrection in 1Cor 15:36, "What you sow does not come to life unless it dies." See also Rom 6:6-11.

Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law, or by hearing with faith?
Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you
do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?

As Cosgrove notices, the two scripture references in Gal 3:11-12, Hab 2:4 and Lev 18:5 are linked not by the idea of justification but by the word ζήσεται, which he interprets with reference to Gal 5:5, to "live by the Spirit."²⁸²

He who is righteous through faith shall live (ζήσεται).
He who does them shall live (ζήσεται) by them.

These two references point to two ways of seeking to attain "life": through the Law and through faith. Thus, Paul's statements about the Law's inability to "make alive" and the fact that the Galatians "live by the Spirit" provide commentary on these two scriptural citations. The life-creating power of the Spirit is therefore the means by which righteous standing within the new covenant is effected. To press the point a final time with this sequence of phrases from Galatians:

If a Law had been given which *could make alive*,
then *righteousness* would indeed be by the Law.
He who is *righteous* by faith *shall live*.
We *live* by the Spirit.

Thus we come to Paul's second inference drawn from the Galatians' reception of the Spirit. They already experience the Spirit, the Spirit who alone has the power to create life. Whatever growth or completion they are seeking can therefore be found only in that which is the source of life in the new creation, the Spirit. Works of the Law, belonging to the era defined by death, can never complete what the Spirit began. Since the Galatians were made alive by the Spirit, the Spirit alone can bring about the mature growth of his fruit in their lives (5:22-23). Their only recourse is, having been made alive by him, to crucify the flesh and to follow the Spirit's lead (5:25). Whereas the Law is impotent to overcome the flesh, because it itself belongs to that realm, those who walk by the Spirit find *freedom* from the power of the flesh (5:16).

²⁸²Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 59-61.

5. Freed from the "Elements of the Universe" to Align Oneself to the Spirit's Lead

The phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου is used in all writings outside of Paul (up through the second century) with reference to the basic elements which constituted the cosmos: earth, wind, fire, air (and sometimes ether). Many of the texts in which this phrase occurs are concerned with the conflict between these elements following the disruption of their initial harmony.²⁸³ Behind the disorder in the material world was projected hostile cosmic forces and powers. Some sectors of Judaism saw the world, and the nations of the world, under the control of angelic powers. The exception was Israel, who was under the exclusive rule of Yahweh himself.

We noted in our study of the OT that covenantal life and world-order were seen to be interrelated. The interruption of the cycles of rain needed to sustain life were interpreted to be covenantal judgment (Jeremiah); the reign of the Davidic king caused life to flow from Zion to the Land (Zion theology), God's judgment was depicted as the return of chaos (Jer 4, Isa 24-27, Joel 2), and a manifestation of covenant renewal was the return of the Land to a Paradisical state of abundance. This overlap between covenant and world-order was developed in both major streams of literature of the intertestamental period. The association of Wisdom and Torah drew the Torah into the sphere of creation, and furthered the overlap between the divine decrees which ordered the universe and which ordered covenantal life (Sir 17, 24). In WisSol, the miracles of the exodus are explained as the fact that "the cosmos defends the righteous," through exerting itself to punish the ungodly and relaxing on behalf of the covenant people (WisSol 16:16-25, 19:18, in analogy to a musical instrument). Aaron's robe depicts the cosmos (WisSol 18:21-25, similarly Philo, *Spec.*, 1:66-97), indicating that the cosmos was his "fellow ministrant" in his intercession on behalf of Israel. But perhaps of most significance to the situation in Galatia was the growth in the apocalyptic literature of "revelatory insight" into the structure and harmony of the cosmos as

²⁸³For a survey of occurrences of στοιχεῖον and στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, see E. Schweizer, "Slaves of the Elements and Worshipers of Angels: Gal 4:3, 9 and Col 2:8, 18, 20," *JBL* 107 (1988) 455-468, Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 75-76 (with bibliography), A. J. Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements of the World: An Exegetical Study in Aspects of Paul's Teaching* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 31-45, G. Dellling, "στοιχέω, συστοιχέω, στοιχεῖον," *TDNT* 7.670-687, Betz, *Galatians*, 204-5.

the means of establishing a correct cultic calendar. Great effort was expended to try to bring a community's calendar into symmetry with the wider cosmic order. This element of creation theology is clearest in the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch, but concern for the calendar is evident also in Jubilees and the writing from Qumran. The different calendars defended were specifically "not like the Gentiles," and furthermore, not like that followed by the religious hierarchy of Jerusalem who have succumbed to Gentile influence. Living under a different calendar than the world around them separated very effectively the "righteous" from the unrighteous both within and without Israel. Thus the observance of "days, and months, seasons, and years" was a way of demarcating the boundary between the righteous and unrighteous, and a way of maintaining a distinctly Jewish identity against the influences of Gentile culture.

Under the influence of those seeking to make them full proselytes, the Galatians had begun to place importance upon observing the Jewish calendar. Gal 4:10 is a clear echo of Gen 1:14 (LXX), where the purpose for the creation of the heavenly lights is given: "Let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years."

Gal 4:10	ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς,
Gen 1:14	...καὶ ἔσωσαν εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς.

The Galatians, formerly enslaved through their pagan idolatrous practices to the "elements of the universe," but now transferred into the new creation, were stepping back (πάλιν - "again") under the power from which they were liberated in seeking to align themselves through the Law to the structure and power of the cosmos.²⁸⁴ The connection between cosmology, cult and righteousness, a prominent theme for discussion in the Judaism of this era, renders no assistance to those defined by the new creation. In fact, such a concern, again a reflection of seeking to *Judaize*, is a step back into bondage to the age passing away.

When Paul speaks of the "elements of the world," he is probably intentionally ambiguous as to whether he means the elements themselves, angelic or demonic powers.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴The invention of astronomy was at times traced back to Abraham. See D. Lührmann, *Galatians* (Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 85. Thus, the connection of cosmology and works of the Law could have been an integral part of the opponents' preaching on Abraham.

²⁸⁵Dunn, *Galatians*, 212-13, Sanders, *PLJP*, 69. Paul's purpose is not to make explicit identification of the Law with the "elements," his purpose is rather to show Jew and Gentile in the same plight.

His purpose is to place the Law and observance of the Law within the spectrum of the old creation, in the place of weakness, poverty and slavery (4:9). The Law can order life (Gal 3:12, "the one who does them shall live by them"), but it cannot make alive. Thus the life ordered by "the traditions, customs and laws that had become enshrined in the Torah," the distinctions between Jew and Gentile, the alignment of religious life to cosmology, the centrality of circumcision, the covenantal significance of food laws, is still life "in the world."²⁸⁶ The Law is thus numbered among the basic elements of enslaved creation. The Law cannot free those who obey it from the realm of the world, let alone form a chasm wide enough to allow Israel to live in a realm separated from the flesh. By placing the Law in the sphere of the "elements of the world" Paul also effectively places Israel in Adam. "Israel's plight is part of a universal plight."²⁸⁷

The phrase "τοῦ κόσμου" not only indicates the physical world, but the realm of existence in bondage to sin, in the flesh, under Law, before Christ (6:14), the very era to which Paul has died by the cross of Christ, the very era invaded by the new creation.²⁸⁸ The eschatological defeat of hostile forces in the new creation is not with reference to the nations, but to the authority of "the elements of the cosmos," a rule reflected to a degree by that which separates the nations from Israel, the Law. This war of liberation, in bringing the era of the flesh in the world to an end, also terminated the hope for the eschatological vindication of Israel *in nationalistic and ethnocentric terms*. Yet, the resurrection hope of the new creation enables the *redefined* Israel of God, both Jew and Greek, now no longer Jew and Greek, to inherit the glory of Adam through the power of the Spirit amidst the conflict of present suffering. In marked contrast, the quest for freedom based on nationalism and ethnic homeland does not lead to the new creation, but is simply a "base of operations" for the flesh.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Minear, "The Crucified World," 402. Very similarly, see Cosgrove, *The Cross and Spirit*, 183.

²⁸⁷ Donaldson, "Galatians 3:13-14," 103.

²⁸⁸ On "τοῦ κόσμου" see Longenecker, *Galatians*, 166. For the appropriateness of the term "invasion" see Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 178, and also Minear, "The Crucified World," 406. However, against Martyn's assertion that in Galatians somehow the apocalyptic framework replaces the covenantal framework, the idea of "holy war" is very much a part of covenant theology.

²⁸⁹ Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies," 416 describes the Spirit and the Flesh as "a pair of warriors, locked in combat with one another," and draws attention to the term ἀφορμή in 5:13, a military term we discussed

Paul uses the word-play between στοιχεῖον and στοιχεω, both derivatives of στείχω (to align), to contrast life under the Law with life under the Spirit. Those in the new creation are not to seek somehow to complete what was begun by the Spirit by being enslaved again to the στοιχεῖα (4:3), somehow aligning their lives to the cosmos through the correct Jewish calendar (4:9). Rather, having been made alive by the Spirit, they are to keep themselves aligned (στοιχῶμεν) to the Spirit's lead (5:25). Righteousness founded (in part) on calendrical distinctions based on cosmology is a righteousness which by intention draws a line of distinction between Jew and Gentile. In the new creation, those things which distinguish the circumcision from the uncircumcision count for nothing. All who align themselves (στοιχήσουσιν) to *this* rule receive the covenantal benediction of peace and mercy (6:15-16).

6. Conclusion: Some Reflections on Cross, Spirit and the Law

To attempt to enter into the theological mine-field of Paul and the Law at this point would be fool-hardy at best and arrogant at worst. We simply venture to add to the wider discussion a few observations which emerge from our discussion of creation material to this point.

The very distinction between circumcision and uncircumcision which Paul places as the antithesis of the new creation Paul sets also in opposition to the true fulfillment of the Law's intent. He describes the Law, and those who live under its requirements, with an emphasis upon the ethnic and nationalistic boundary it creates and reinforces.

in the introduction. In parallel, note Wright's insight (*Climax of the Covenant*, 29) that 1Cor 15:22-28 is an "apocalyptic battle." These verses contain some of the fundamental concepts of *Chaoskampf* and Zion theology. Compare also the idea in the OT that the Spirit empowered warriors to triumph in conflict.

Gal 6:15

οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστίν
οὔτε ἀκροβυστία

ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις.

Gal 5:6

ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει
οὔτε ἀκροβυστίαἀλλὰ πίστις
δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργοῦμένη.1Cor 7:19²⁹⁰ἡ περιτομή οὐδὲν ἐστίν
καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδὲν
ἐστίν,
ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ.

The works of the Law most evident in Galatians itself are food Laws (Antioch-2:11-14), calendar observances and Sabbath (4:10), and circumcision (2:3,7, 8, 9, 12; 5:2, 3, 6, 11; 6:12, 13, 15), those key practices of daily life which to both Jew and Gentile alike distinctly separated Jew from Gentile. In fact, circumcision so defined the identity of a Jew that Paul could refer to Jews as "the circumcision" (2:7, 9).²⁹¹ Thus, it is to a degree inconsequential whether in Gal 5:6, 6:15 and 1Cor 7:19 Paul is contrasting the presence or absence of circumcision, or people defined by the presence or absence of circumcision (Jew/Gentile), so much did the rite defined ethnic identity and vice versa. However, circumcision is antithetical in Galatians to the cross of Christ (6:12-17),²⁹² and therefore the new creation inaugurated in and through the cross no longer recognizes the distinction between "circumcision and uncircumcision," no longer recognizes life in flesh defined by Law. The cross marks the termination of this distinction which formerly was significant, and is the inception of the new creation where the people of God are defined solely on the basis of being "in Christ." Therefore, observing of the Law as a way of maintaining this distinction (Judaism) or as an attempt to be fully incorporated into the covenant people (the Galatians) finds itself on the wrong side of the divide which separates the new creation from the present evil age. More than any critique of inner motive ("works-righteousness"), eschatology and its impact on the distinctions which belonged to an age replaced by the new creation shaped Paul's approach to his theology about the Law in Galatians.

The Spirit, the sign of the new creation, is the present fulfillment of the promised new covenant. The Spirit, poured out within the heart, enables the fulfillment of the

²⁹⁰Compare Rom 2:25, which states of Jews who do not keep the Law, "your circumcision has become uncircumcision."

²⁹¹Versus "the circumcised," a point made by Dunn, *Theology of Galatians*, 8.

²⁹²Dunn, *Theology of Galatians*, 28-33.

Law.²⁹³ Thus the Spirit marks the end of the division between those who possess the Law and the lawless, because he empowers the victory over the flesh in those who were "in the Law" and those "apart from the Law." Since the Spirit is given without distinction and operates effectively without distinction, since his "pouring out" has overspilled former boundaries, his presence redefines the boundaries of the new covenant to include Jew and Gentile. Paul's experience of witnessing the Spirit present among his Gentile converts apart from the Law continued to add definition to the gospel and commission he received through his experience on the Damascus Road.

Of course, Christ himself is the chief example of faith operating through love, the emphasis which has replaced a focus on ethnic heritage and nation citizenship (Gal 5:6, 14). As Paul writes to his Gentile converts in Galatia, in obedient faithfulness to the will of God, Jesus "gave himself for our sins" (1:4), motivated by love (2:20).²⁹⁴ Paul's vivid preaching of Christ crucified (3:1) was heard with faith by the Galatians, and this same faith was the basis by which they received the Spirit. It is the Spirit of the Son who reproduces within the "sons of God" the same love and faithfulness which fulfills the Law of Christ (5:22, 6:2). It is pointless, even dangerous, for the Galatians to attempt to become just like "Jews by birth," for such an emphasis on ethnic descent has no place in the new creation where there is no "male and female." For both individuals and for the corporate people of God, it is the Spirit, not the Law, who leads the way towards the final completion of the new creation. The Spirit completes what the cross began.

²⁹³Wright, *Messiah*, 137, emphasizes this by translating Rom 5:5 "love for God," the ability to keep the greatest commandment. However, the emphasis in Galatians seems to be more on "loving others." However, the interrelated nature of loving God and loving others renders too precise a distinction as meaningless.

²⁹⁴Gaventa, "Singularity of the Gospel," 157-8.

SECTION 5. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The central question of the letter to the Galatians is whether Gentile-Christians need to become Jewish-Christians in order to be fully incorporated into the people of God, and in this chapter we have attempted to set both the question and Paul's response within the context of the rising Jewish political and theological nationalism of the period. Although the question could have been asked whether or not a crisis period within Judaism was occurring, the social milieu in which the Gentile mission emerged contributed to the force with which Paul argued for the gospel he believed had been delivered to him by a revelation of Jesus Christ. In declaring a new creation through the crucified Christ in which the former distinction between Circumcision and Uncircumcision was no longer of significance, he found himself at cross purposes with the emphasis in the Judaism of his time, where those "works of the Law" which demarcated Jew from Gentile were of overwhelming significance. Opposite to his way of thinking were those willing to kill and be killed to uphold the boundaries of Judaism and reclaim her national prestige. Likewise, Paul was so convinced that these boundaries must come down that he was willing to put his own life in constant peril to evangelize unto that end. He viewed the physical "scars of Jesus" on his body as nothing less than the birth pangs of the new creation.

Paul addressed the effects which Jewish political and theological nationalism were having upon the Galatians in the only way possible to him at that time: he wrote to them. The response he put forward was to a significant degree based upon his interpretation of creation theology and application of creation imagery. He established in the opening verses, and reinforced in the closing paragraph, the apocalyptic dualism between the world and the new creation. He declared that the Law and its works, as well as the present Jerusalem, belong to the present evil age, and placed all, both Jew and Gentile, into fallen Adam. It is only the Life-giving Spirit who baptizes those in Adam into Christ, and the reception by both Jew and Gentile (without distinction) of the Spirit of the Son is the sign of their adoption into the one family of God. As we have examined in detail, Paul's interpretation

and application of creation theology in Galatians placed him at odds with the Jewish literature of his time to the same degree as he was at odds with the Jewish political and social movements of his time. It is impossible to "prove" that Paul was directly interacting with any of the particular writings we have surveyed, but the pervasive tendency of these writings which utilized references to the same creation traditions to underline Israel's national preeminence and ethnic prerogative over-against the Gentiles reveals the high probability that Paul's theological imagery is carefully and intentionally selected. Paul reaches into the aspects of OT creation theology under-emphasized in contemporary writings, how primal time depicts the failure of *all* humanity and how in future time the new creation would be marked by inclusiveness, to help clarify the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus Messiah for his converts.

Through the use of creation theology and creation imagery, Paul redefines "the Israel of God," a phrase which reveals both the covenantal continuity and the apocalyptic discontinuity in his gospel.²⁹⁵ Gentiles in Christ join Jews in Christ in inheriting the blessings of Abraham. They both share in the Spirit, outpoured on "all flesh," upon all who are included in the long anticipated new covenant. The unity of Jew and Gentile as children of eschatological Zion, worshipping before the one God, likewise brings into reality ancient hopes within Israel.

Yet, because Paul grounds the identity of both Jew and Gentile in Adam, both Gentile *and* Jew must be incorporated into the Israel of God on the same basis: through interchange with the crucified Messiah. In a sense, *both* Jew and Gentile must become "proselytes" in order to join the Israel of God, faith in Christ being the decisive step of incorporation. It is this discontinuity between Israel defined ethnically and the Israel of God, explained by means of the apocalyptic dualism between the world and the new creation, which renders invalid any reasons put forward why Gentile-Christians should

²⁹⁵This phrase has gathered much attention over whether the phrase refers to Jews only, or to both Jew and Gentile in Christ. Because of its isolated nature, all conclusions are based on the overall reading of the letter. For the conclusion we share, that Paul redefines the "Israel of God" as all in Christ, see among many others, Sanders, *PLJP*, 173-4.

Judaize. As their reception of the Life-giving Spirit indicated, in the new creation they already are full members of the redefined people of God.

Chapter 5. Conclusion: Creation and the People of God

SECTION 1. THE NATIONALISTIC AND UNIVERSALISTIC ASPECTS OF CREATION TRADITION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

The two central sources for creation tradition in the Hebrew Bible are Gen 1-11 and the many passages which reflect Zion theology, sources in which both nationalism and universalism are evident. In the creation narratives of Gen 1-3, the nationalism one would expect from comparison with ANE sources is notably absent. Neither narrative ends with the building of a national sanctuary (in Gen 2, Paradise remains the archetypal sanctuary), or the installation of a national king (in both creation narratives, kingship and dominion are democratized). Even the Torah theology which underpins Gen 2-3 is left without a specific Mosaic point of reference. Yet, if one moves past the immediate context to the wider context of these narratives, if primal time is the first era of the salvation history recorded in the Pentateuch, then clear analogy is made between the creation of the world in Gen 1 and the building of the Tabernacle in Ex 39-40, the creation blessing given to the first man and woman is passed through the genealogical line of the patriarchs to its fulfilment in the creation of the nation of Israel, the command to "subdue and have dominion over" the earth becomes the language of conquest for Israel to inherit the Land. Thus it could be said that the universalism of Gen 1-3 has in the end a nationalistic orientation.

In contrast, Zion theology has as its starting point a nationalism supported by creation imagery. Zion is the cosmic mountain (in the face of competing claims) and as such was the "centre of the earth," the capstone which held in check the chaos of the tehom, and the river which flowed from the Temple mount was the source of life for worshipper and all creation. The temple in Zion finds its clearest description through Paradise language. God dwells in Zion, enthroned there as the Creator who has mastered the waters, active there as the one who continues to repel the forces of chaos as the Creator-King. Zion is secure against both supernatural forces (*Chaoskampf*) and their earthly counterparts, the nations

(*Völkerkampf*). The result of Yahweh's victory is the homage of the nations, who stream to Zion in recognition of the preeminence of Yahweh and of his people Israel. But in this procession of the nations to honor nation and national deity, at times Gentiles are portrayed as enjoying the blessings of Zion. In these passages, the note of universalism sounded indicates that Zion is not only the source of life for the Land, it becomes also the source of life for the world.

Thus, the creation imagery of Gen 1-3 and of Zion theology contains both nationalistic and universalistic components. The writers of the prophetic books retained both these elements as primal time became the model for end time. A closer link was drawn between cosmic order and covenantal obedience. The blessings upon the land by the cycles of rain sent by the Creator-Sustainer would be withheld for lack of faithfulness to his commands and stipulations. And taken to its farthest extent, the devastation to Israel's world caused by the ultimate judgment for her disobedience, the exile, could only be described as a return to chaos (Isa 24), the step-by-step reversal of the process of creation described in Gen 1 and 2 (Jer 4). Israel's restoration from this point of chaos was then described in terms of a *new* creation. The return from the exile, like the Exodus, would be a repetition of cosmogony (Isa 51:9-11, Eze 38ff). The Land would be restored to the abundance and fertility of Eden, and the pouring out of water on the Land would be accompanied by the pouring out of the Spirit upon each Israelite. Israel would be created anew within (Jer 33, Eze 36), and this process by which the nation would be resurrected would be a repetition of the creation of the first man (Eze 37). The permanence and the immeasurability of the cosmos became the analogy for the everlasting kingship accorded to David and for the everlasting priesthood accorded the Levites (Jer 33:17-26). In the restored Temple, the Paradise of primal time would again be found (Ez 38-48). Some writers intensified the nationalistic boundary around Zion (Ezekiel -no Gentiles allowed access to the restored Temple). Others broadened the universalistic component of the new creation (Isa 65-66 - some Gentiles selected as priests). Thus, when Jewish writers of the Second Temple period, including the Christian apostle Paul, turned to the Hebrew scriptures in their

attempt to interpret their times and situations for their readers, they found both the inherent nationalism and universalism of Gen 1-3 and Zion theology, and the intensified nationalism and broadened universalism in the creation imagery of the prophets.

SECTION 2. THE EMPHASIS IN JEWISH WRITINGS UPON THE NATIONALISTIC ASPECT OF CREATION TRADITION

In the vast majority of the occurrences of creation tradition in the Wisdom literature and Apocalyptic literature reviewed, creation imagery and creation theology were used as a means to reaffirm the election of Israel from among the nations, and to encourage the continued practices which separated her from the Gentiles. In numerous ways, Israel's unique status as the elect people of God was affirmed with reference to creation.

In the Jewish literature surveyed, *the analogy between creation and election present in the OT was developed*. The Creator of the world is the Creator of Israel (4Q160 2:5, 4Q504 3:3-4). As God separated the works of creation into their portions, so he separated Israel to be his portion (Sir 16:26/17:17). In the same way that the Sabbath and feast days were separated in creation from ordinary days, so the Creator has separated Israel for a special destiny (Sir 33:7-13, Jub 2:19-32). Thus, the pattern of separation which is fundamental to the first creation narrative becomes the analogy by which Israel's special election in contrast to the Gentile nations is explained.

Especially notable is the development of a "nationalistic hermeneutic" in the Wisdom literature. Detailed analogy is made between the accounts of creation in Gen 1-2 and Israel's election. The exodus is a repetition of Gen 1 (WisSol 19:6-12) as creation was "fashioned anew" for the benefit of Israel. Wisdom's role in creation and her election of Israel as her home is told in language recalling the creation narratives (Sir 24). The implicit Torah theology of Gen 2-3 is made explicit in Sir 15:11-18:14, where the distinction between primal time and the giving of the Law at Sinai is blurred. The freedom of the will, the wisdom, and the natural abilities with which man was created were given in order to hear

and obey the commands of the Torah. Creation and election literally overlap in these interpretations of the creation narratives.

The *continuity between Creation History and Election History* was made explicit in the Jewish literature surveyed. In the Wisdom literature, creation was used to establish the universal horizon which prepared for the movement in the argument from the general to the particular. For instance, in Sir 24, wisdom is depicted as active in the creation of the cosmos, then as dwelling in Israel as Torah. Similarly, in WisSol 6-18, wisdom is first described as the "fashioner of all things," then as the power by which the patriarchs were saved, and finally as assisting Israel in the Exodus. *Creation takes wisdom to its most universal application, election takes wisdom to its most ethnocentric implication.* Sir 42-50 is build on this same movement from the general to the specific: the glory evident in creation is also the portion of Israel's heroes, and is particularly present in the celebration of Israel's cult. Thus, wisdom and glory are first depicted in relationship to creation, their most universal aspect, in preparation to show their most particularistic manifestation - within Israel.

The cosmos itself is related to covenantal life. Creation assists the elect towards immortality, and punishes the enemies of the righteous, both historically and eschatologically (WisSol). Cosmic order is designed with the judgment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous as its goal (1En 17-26). In Israel's cult, the cosmos is a fellow-ministrant with the priest, interceding for the righteous (WisSol 18:21-25).

Another method used by Jewish writers to establish continuity between creation and the covenant people was through the portrayal of Adam as the first patriarch of Israel. Thus, Israel becomes the heirs of the promise of primal time. The creation blessing of dominion over the earth is passed from Adam through the patriarchs to the nation of Israel (Jub 2:23-24, 19:23-24, 26-27, 22:13). The glory of Adam, above all the living, is that glory evident upon the High Priest executing his office in Israel's cult (Sir 49:14-50:20). WisSol 9:1-12 establishes continuity between Adam and Solomon. This continuity can be carried into

future time. Inheriting the glory of Adam is a central component in the eschatological hope of the Qumran community.

Jewish writers in the intertestamental period, in keeping with the depictions of restoration in the Old Testament, presented the *new creation as a soteriological image tied to the renewal of the Land*. God would pour out water to return the Land to fertility, and pour out his Spirit to renew his people. Therefore, with the description of the restoration of the covenant people was the accompanying description of the restoration of the Land to a Paradisical state. In the OT and in the ITL, it is difficult to separate Adam and Eden, New Adam and Restored Eden, because in the Jewish mind Israel was very much both people and Land. In the literature we reviewed, paradise imagery was used to describe the present glory of Jerusalem and the Temple (Sir 24, Sir 50).

Because the Temple was understood against the background of cosmic mountain imagery, Paradise was already experienced in the function of the cult. As beliefs about Zion were transformed into eschatological hopes, the implicit cosmogony which underpinned Zion theology centred the new creation upon a new Temple (1En 10:17-19, 25:4-26:2, Jub 1:29, 4:26). The renewal of the Land in the new creation, often having its point of origin in the renewal of the Temple, underscores the nationalistic orientation of this hope in Judaism.

Chaoskampf, the basic creation pattern of Zion theology, also instilled the understanding of the new creation as involving the defeat of hostile forces. A central component of new creation in the apocalyptic literature is the vindication of Israel through the defeat and punishment of the Gentiles. New creation is frequently preceded by the defeat of hostile enemies, whether the nations who oppress Israel or their corresponding forces in the hostile spiritual realm (Dan 7, 1En 10:4, 10WApoc, Animal Apoc, Jub 23:29). Among the texts we examine, only 1 Enoch addresses the inclusion of the Gentiles in end time salvation (10:21, 91:14, 91:38). Even in these texts which are the most universal (91:38, where both Jew and Gentile are transformed in the Temple into new creatures, is the

broadest depiction of universalism in the literature), the inclusion of the Gentiles in salvation is always subsequent to the judgment of the nations and the exaltation of Israel. New creation without national vindication was not even a considered possibility in the Jewish writings of this period.

In the Jewish literature reviewed, we encountered many examples where participation in the eschatological new creation is a reward for present fidelity to the Torah, often times in the face of misunderstanding and resistance. The righteous man who inherits the immortality intended for Adam in WisSol 1-5 is misunderstood by his oppressors "because his manner of life is unlike that of others and his ways are strange" (2:15). Because he understands Torah in its revelatory function (humanity was created in the image of God's eternity) he obeys Torah in its regulatory function. For those at Qumran, the righteous (= the sectarians) would inherit all the glory of Adam as the future reward for present fidelity (1QH 17:15, 4Q171 2:26-3:11, 1QS 4:23-26, CD 3:12-4:4). The people of the saints of the Most High, the righteous who observe dietary Laws, are faithful to their God, and refrain from idolatry (Dan 1-6), will like Adam have dominion over the beasts, who represent the Gentile nations (Dan 7, compare the Animal Apocalypse). In Jubilees 23:26-31, it is a return to the study of the Torah which initiates the process of restoration and new creation.

Reference to primal time was applied to sectarian concerns to maintain ethnic and ethical purity. In Jubilees, the creation blessing passed from Abraham to Jacob culminates with the condition "separate yourself from the Gentiles." The story of the Watchers is addressed to the issue of priestly marriages which were not honoring the ethnic and social boundaries prescribed by the Law (1En 6-16). To violate the boundaries of the Law would result in similarly devastating consequences as violating the boundaries of creation. In Jubilees, Gen 1-3 is interpreted to address the issue of temple purity for women after childbirth (3:8-14) and the prohibition against the nudity common in Gentile settings (3:26-31). Angels are said to have been created circumcised (15:26-27), and to have celebrated in heaven the feasts of Israel from the beginning of creation (6:17-31). Finally, insight into the

structure of the cosmos defends the sectarian calendar which was considered free from Gentile influences (Astronomical Book, compare Jubilees).

Thus, in these numerous ways, Second Temple Judaism utilized creation theology and creation imagery to reinforce both the idea of Israel's election and the boundaries which separated Jew from Gentile. Jewish writers, responding to the cultural forces of Hellenism and political dominion of Greece and Rome, chose to emphasize and enhance the nationalistic and ethnocentric components of the creation traditions of the Hebrew Bible.

SECTION 3. CREATION TRADITION AND THE INCLUSION OF THE GENTILES IN PAUL'S LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

By recognizing the entire range of creation imagery used to support Israel's national and ethnic identity, and the prominence of such occurrences in the wisdom and apocalyptic writings which form the background to emerging Christianity, one is better able to appreciate the revolutionary nature of Paul's declaration in Gal 6:15: "For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything, but a new creation." Paul responded to the issue of whether Gentile Christians needed to become Jewish Christians with theological arguments frequently underpinned by creation theology and imagery. The framework of his counter-attack to his opponents' teaching was the eschatological dualism between the world (the present evil age) and the new creation. Paul declared that the new creation had been inaugurated in the cross of Christ, and those in Christ (the case in point being the Galatian converts) were identified with this new era. But this declaration not only addressed the issue of whether Gentile believers in Christ needed to become Jewish proselytes, Paul's response to the Galatian situation carried with it a critique of the practice and priorities of the Judaism(s) of that day.

Central to Paul's new creation theology is the end-time inclusion of the Gentiles in God's promises of salvation to Israel. Thus, Paul is in continuity with the *Völkerfahrt* imagery found in depictions of Zion in the Psalms and Prophets, particularly with the notable universalism in the descriptions of the new creation throughout Isaiah. However, in

sharp contrast to the expectations regarding Zion by his Jewish contemporaries, the new creation (and the inclusion of the Gentiles) had been inaugurated *apart* from the vindication of Israel. One aspect of the new creation prevalent in the Jewish writings reviewed was that the end times would be when the distinction between Israel and the nations would be seen *at its most clear*. Israel would be exalted, Zion restored and nations would come from the ends of the earth to pay homage to the God who had chosen to dwell in the Land. Paul resists this overlap between covenantal boundaries and national borders. Through a realized apocalyptic eschatology, Paul disassociates earthly Zion from the hope of the new creation. He creates a discontinuity between present Jerusalem (and those who from it draw their identity) and the Jerusalem above (to which those of the new covenant belong).

Paul's new creation language is devoid of the Eden and Paradise references used commonly to describe the Jerusalem of the new creation in Jewish writings. The new creation could not be located within national borders or confined to one mountain, for it was nothing less than the passing away of the cosmos. The Spirit had not been poured out upon the Land, but upon "all flesh." Unlike earthly Jerusalem, those in Christ are no longer slaves but sons, and the intimacy of relationship with God indicated by the "Abba" cry has transcended the need for God's presence to be mediated by priest or cult. Therefore to seek to be circumcised is to step from the new creation back into the era of bondage and to attempt to observe the cultic calendar placed one in danger of being again enslaved to the cosmic powers of the age passing away. Instead, those in Christ must align themselves to the Spirit's lead.

Every Jewish writing surveyed contained sections on the judgment of the Gentiles, either as a historical event or as future hope. In fact, the defeat of hostile powers, both spiritual forces and their earthly counterparts (the nations), is a central element in the process of new creation in intertestamental texts. In contrast, Paul disassociates hostile spiritual forces from the nations. The irony of this increases the more one sees a link between the rising nationalistic fervor in Palestine in the 40's and early 50's and the background to Galatians.

Furthermore, he places the Law in the realm controlled by such forces - the ambiguity of his statements even allowing the possibility that the Law itself is numbered among τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. The new creation had come *apart* from the Law. Because the Galatians had received the Spirit promised as part of the new covenant and new creation (Joel 3, Isa 59), they were already the "seed of Abraham" and sons of God. That which many Jews considered to be the future inheritance only of those *who were faithful to the Law in the present era*, the Galatian believers had already experienced apart from the Law. The reception of the promise of the Spirit indicated that the era in which the people of God had been identified by "works of the Law" had passed. The Law served no longer as boundary marker around the people of God, nor as the means of entry for those who desired to be included in the Israel of God.

Paul also established a continuity between Gen 1-3 and the history of Israel. However, he interpreted Gen 1-3 not as an archetype of election or salvation, but as archetypical of sinful humanity. Gen 1-3 becomes not the proof-text for the special election of Israel, it becomes through Adam Christology the scriptural proof for the situation of all humanity without distinction: in fallen Adam, condemned by the Law. Thus, Paul focused not on Israel's claim upon Adam, but on Adam's claim upon Israel. Israel remains in the realm defined by fallen Adam, on common ground with the Gentiles. Paul's Adam Christology, regarding the one "born of woman, born under the Law," presents the singular solution for the common plight of all humanity, Jew and Gentile alike.

Through his encounter with the risen Christ, Paul was commissioned to preach the gospel to Gentiles. He responded to those who opposed him, and to their intention to maintain the ethnic boundary around the people of God, in part by drawing upon the universalism inherent in the creation traditions of the Hebrew Bible, the universalism under-emphasized by his Jewish contemporaries. Paul used creation imagery and creation theology to prove as no longer significant the boundary which divided Jew from Gentile as

the people of God, the very boundary which Jewish writers, through their use of creation tradition, had attempted to reinforce. For his Gentile converts who thought it necessary to Judaize in order to acquire full status as Abraham's sons, Paul declared that the world ordered by physical descent, by "male and female," had passed away. Covenantal boundaries no longer overlapped with ethnic identity. "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, but new creation."

Galatians presents the reader with both Paul's exclusive claims regarding Christ, and the inclusive implications of these claims. In the Judaism of Paul's day, many were willing to suffer and risk death to re-establish the boundaries of the covenant: boundaries which overlapped with national borders, cultural practices, and political aspirations. It was in the context of such times that Paul himself suffered and risked death to redefine the covenantal boundaries around the people of God in a manner which included Gentiles as well as Jews. For this inclusive interpretation of the new creation, Paul suffered greatly. The marks of Christ he bore, the persecution he embraced, was not to defend boundaries, but to open them. For those who in this day consider themselves heirs of Pauline Christianity, the inclusive implication of the singular Gospel must remain a distinctive by-product of faith in Christ. The precedent of former practice, the expressions of culture which accompany the emergence of faith, the particular manner in which the Spirit was manifest in a given time or place, must never become boundaries which include some and exclude all others. In Christ, in the new creation, "all are one."

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